THE

CREATION OF MANITOBA,

OR

A HISTORY

OF THE

RED RIVER TROUBLES.

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THE

CREATION OF MANITOBA;

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A HISTORY OF THE

RED RIVER TROUBLES.

BY

ALEXANDER BEGG.

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THE

CREATION OF MANITOBA.

CHAPTER I.

CONDUCT OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY JUSTIFIED—NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE TRANSFER OF THE TERRITORY TO CANADA—MEETINGS OF FRENCH HALF-BREEDS—COL. DENNIS—HON. JOSEPH HOWE ON A TOUR OF INSPECTION—A REBEL COUNCIL FORMED—APATHY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING SETTLERS—ARRIVAL OF HON. MR. M'DOUGALL AT THE FRONTIER—THE TAKING OF FORT GARRY.

WHEN the people of the North-West were represented as groaning under a yoke of oppression, they were in reality enjoying a degree of liberty and happiness unparalleled in any other country. Their form of government was a peculiar one, which, while it relieved the Red River settlers of a heavy responsibility, at the same time gave them an indisputable voice in the selection of the men appointed to watch over their interests. It cannot be denied that the Hudson's Bay Company invariably made it a point to consult the settlers as to the fitness of a councillor before appointing him to the office; and thus, although there were no elections, the men who were most popular amongst their neighbours were generally chosen to represent them at the Council

Board. In this way, the people had to a great extent a voice in the management of their own affairs ; but, because the Hudson's Bay Company also enjoyed the right of sending members to the Council of Assiniboia, it was reported abroad that the whole government of the country was in the interest of that august body, and that the settlers had little, if any, chance to control their own affairs. Another erroneous idea was that the councillors were overawed by the weight and influence of the Company ; whereas the power was an equally balanced one,—for the reason that the objection of one member of the Board was sufficient to overthrow any motion before it. Had the Hudson's Bay Company men, therefore, endeavoured to carry a measure distasteful or detrimental to the interests of the settlers, any single one of their representatives had the power to defeat it ; and, although a majority of votes would have been the more correct way of carrying on the business of the Council, yet our readers can easily see that the plan adopted gave no balance of power to either side—the scales were evenly poised. We may here mention that the individuals chosen from amongst the settlers to act as councillors conjointly with those from the Hudson's Bay Company were, as a rule, men of integrity and high standing in the country, and, therefore, altogether above bribery and falsity to their people's interests.

The taxation consisting of 4 per cent. on general merchandise imported into the country, and one shilling per gallon on liquors, was very small, and therefore hardly felt by the people.

The Courts of Justice savored more of arbitration than of a mere attention to the technicalities of law; and it generally happened that there were more cases decided outside the court-room than inside it. People at that period had learned to live on terms of friendship and kindliness towards each other; and, consequently, it was not a difficult matter to heal a breach between any two individuals. The Government at that time depended greatly on the quiet, peaceful, and contented character of the people for a strict observance of law and order, and did not deem it necessary to enforce severe measures. Had the settlers been the only parties with whom the Hudson's Bay Company had to deal, all would have been well; but when parties from abroad came to Red River, and sowed the seeds of discontent amongst the inhabitants; and when those firebrands led the way by breaking and defying the laws, then the Government of Assiniboia was found to be weak—the moral character of the public mind as regarded obedience to the laws of the land having been tampered with. Force was then deemed necessary to protect the dignity of the law; but, as that was not within the power of the Hudson's Bay Company to obtain, except at a risk of internal commotion, they had to submit to a great deal from unscrupulous men, rather than raise a ferment of excitement and trouble amongst the otherwise peaceable and quiet people of the country. Where all had been confidence and contentment between the governing power and those governed, suspicion and uneasiness crept in, and at last the Hudson's Bay Company found that they had indeed an "elephant" on their

hands in their endeavours to keep quiet and peace throughout the North-West.

Unfortunately for the Settlement the only newspaper in it took an active part in augmenting the difficulty ; and, by a continued course of undeserved abuse towards the Hudson's Bay Company, endeavoured to weaken the only existing Government at the time ; and also led parties at a distance, especially in Canada, to form the idea that the settlers were not only in a state of thraldom, but also in want of proper protection. To such a degree did the newspaper in question carry its attacks against the Hudson's Bay Company, that the people of Red River became disgusted with its persistent course of unjust and virulent articles, and the consequence was that the press in Red River was a by-word of ridicule in honest men's mouths. The results, however, of this false journalism were still going on abroad, until in Canada it became fixed in the public mind that the people of the North-West were down-trodden and subjects for pity, and that the Honourable Company was a monster of the nineteenth century. The fact of the matter was, that the misdeeds on the part of a few men were lauded by the only newspaper in Red River, on the plea that they were merely acts of opposition to what was termed "The Great Monopoly;" and, when the law took hold of those individuals to punish them according to the judgments of juries chosen from amongst the settlers, the same newspaper cited the circumstances as instances of oppression on the part of the Company. It was put forward as a principle, that a man

as long as he was a British subject could disregard the law of the land, because, as it was interpreted, no law existed in the country deserving of obedience. Under that doctrine crime and fraud might have been committed, and yet the law, because it emanated from the Hudson's Bay Company, and although the sole protection of the settlers, was represented as having no right to deal with offenders. This evil, preached openly both at home and abroad, did much harm, not only in unsettling the minds of the settlers, but also in giving new comers the idea that there was little if any law in the land. The effect of all this was to prevent a better class of immigrants from coming to a country where they were told they would be afforded no protection, and where lawless men could run wild without fear of punishment. When the jail was broken open, and the laws defied, it was recorded in print, to be scattered abroad amongst people at a distance who had no opportunity of judging otherwise, that the lawless act was intended *by the people of the North-West* to show to the world that they disregarded the authority over them, because it was a weak and selfish one, distasteful to the settlers generally. Now the truth was, that the inhabitants of Red River as a mass disowned any share in, or approval of, the acts of a few persons; and the jail-breakers found to their cost that they had lost caste with their neighbours on account of their lawlessness. The settlers, it can be said to their honour, discountenanced lawlessness, and gave several proofs of this; but at the same time the continued preach-

ing against their only legal authority at last began to tell, and a feeling of insecurity and uneasiness spread itself over the land. The Hudson's Bay Company in the meantime kept on its way, and endeavoured as far as possible to keep order and preserve good feeling amongst the several sects in the colony. But it was up-hill work, subjecting them to all sorts of annoyances and insults from unprincipled men; the people of the country being rarely mixed up with the squabbles of the time.

The Hudson's Bay Company has been represented by its enemies as a harsh, grinding corporation, and the settlers of Red River as the victims. We do not dispute that many acts of injustice, even cruelty, may have been committed by the Company's officers in the discharge of their duties throughout the vast North-West, especially when it is remembered that the Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company extended back nearly two hundred years; but it must also be borne in mind that, in the early days of fur-trading in the northern part of British America, it was held by the best legal authority that the sole right of dealing in fur belonged to the Company acting under a Charter from the Crown. Whether that Charter was legally sound or not, is a point which is open to a variety of opinions; but this may be said in its favour, that England would never have consented to the payment of three hundred thousand pounds sterling for what it deemed a bogus right, and Canada never would have bought the title-deed to the North-West had the way been clear to obtain it without purchase. It was while endeavouring to protect their

chartered rights that the Company's officers on several occasions made use of severe measures in preserving the fur trade to themselves. Those acts had little if any connection with the prosperity of the Settlement, for they took place, in most instances, at some distance from it. The Nor'-West Company, as well as private traders, endeavoured to run opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company, and the latter can hardly be blamed for using every effort to protect its own interests. The fur trade, unfortunately, has been confounded with the governing functions of the Company; whereas one was entirely different from, and did not in the least relate to, the other. In dealing with the former, one principle alone was at stake—namely, the infringement of the Charter; in the latter, the every-day transactions between man and man had to be dealt with, and on that account laws were framed to regulate the acts of the community at large—the Hudson's Bay Company, as a trading body, being as amenable as any private individual. But, as the governing power, it of course had the right to prosecute in cases where the Crown exercises the same prerogative in other parts of the British Empire. It was at one time considered almost a crime for anyone not in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company to be found dealing in or even wearing furs; and parties have been, in several instances, severely punished for having been guilty of the same. But time changed all this. Free trade was declared in the North-West. Strong opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company sprang up on every side, and it soon became a struggle, not of blood, but of

pounds, shillings and pence, as to who would be the most successful. The Hudson's Bay Company used every endeavour to crush free traders, and, having so much wealth and influence at its back, those opposed to it found it difficult work to compete. This mercantile conflict (for it cannot be called otherwise) gave rise to the idea that the Hudson's Bay Company was tyrannical in its measures, when, in reality, it was like a rich man competing with a poor one, the latter, of course, being at a disadvantage on account of limited means. All this, however, had nothing to do with the Settlement, for while the Company exerted itself to the utmost in trying to put down free trading *in fur*, it did all in its power for the good of the Red River Settlement.

Land was sold to intending settlers at almost a nominal price, and in many cases no payment was exacted. Every facility and encouragement was given to farming operations, and the Company became the principal purchasers of the produce of the soil. Where would the Red River farmer have been had the Hudson's Bay Company imported the grain and other produce necessary for carrying on its vast business? The fact of the matter is, that, had it not been for the Hudson's Bay Company, farmers would have been at a loss how to dispose of their produce; and, on the other hand, it was to the advantage of the Company to encourage cultivation of the soil for the simple reason that it made it easier for them to furnish their fur-traders throughout the North-West with provisions than if they had to bring in their supplies from a long distance. It can be easily seen, therefore, that it was not to the inter-

est of the Company to hamper the settlers, as it has been represented they did. But the Hudson's Bay Company assisted the people of the country in other ways, besides buying their produce, for they expended large amounts of money in carrying on their own business. Settlers were engaged to freight goods from St. Paul to Fort Garry; men were hired to manage the boats. Even in their fur-trading, they employed settlers to go out amongst the Indians and trade with them. Then, the currency of the country consisted chiefly of bills for five shillings and one pound sterling, issued by the Company. This in itself, whilst it facilitated the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company, at the same time was a matter of great accommodation to the people. Those notes were redeemable at Fort Garry by a bill of Exchange on London, England, so that a merchant doing business in Red River and wishing to make a payment abroad could do so without bank charges or inconvenience. When the free-traders came into the Settlement, the Company in many instances offered them good prices for their furs; and, although they opposed to the utmost of their ability all and any barter with Indians, still, after the furs were in the hands of the trader, they did not try by any means to cheat or rob him of his property. We need hardly say more to convince our readers that the Company, instead of being as they have been represented, a hinderance to the welfare of the Settlement, have been directly the opposite.

Besides this, the Company were liberal supporters of the several religious denominations in the Colony. The Church of England and Roman Catholic bishops both

received large sums of money yearly from the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Presbyterian minister also received a considerable amount from the same source. When the Rev. Geo. Young came to the Settlement to take charge of the Methodist cause in Red River, the Hudson's Bay Company presented him with a valuable piece of land on which to build a church and manse; yet, in the face of all this, we have read and heard of the Company as a monster of oppression and even cruelty. But one more instance of the liberality on the part of the Company and we have done. When the grasshoppers visited Red River about two years ago, and so completely devastated the land that starvation stared in the faces of the settlers the ensuing winter, the Hudson's Bay Company came forward cheerfully and most liberally to the relief of the people. Canada, through private contributions, did well for the suffering inhabitants of the North-West. So did the United States, but the Hudson's Bay Company did more than both together, for it contributed over six thousand pounds sterling towards the relief of the starving settlers. Ontario appropriated five thousand dollars, but Red River never received the amount. When we say Ontario, we mean the Legislature of that Province, for we feel sure that it was from no wish on the part of the people that the money was withheld. Had it come to hand as intended, many poor suffering men, women and children, would have been saved so much misery.

And now let us recount the relations between the Company and the people, and then we will leave it to the good honest common sense of our readers to say whether

the settlers of Red River were in a state of thraldom or the Hudson's Bay Company a monster of tyranny and oppression. It seems strange to us how the unfortunate Company could be a weak tyrant, for tyranny usually requires force to make it effective; and yet we have seen the Hudson's Bay Company described at one time as too weak to govern and the next as a tyrannical oppressive corporation. Let us see how matters stood. The laws of the land were mild; the taxation was very light; the land could be obtained from the Company on easy terms; produce always found a ready market with the Company; the Hudson's Bay Company served as bankers to the people free; the churches and schools were largely indebted to the Company for support; the Indians throughout the North-West were mostly on a friendly footing; trade in the Settlement was assisted by the Hudson's Bay Company; and last, but not least, when the people of Red River were starving the Hudson's Bay Company did more than either Canada, the United States or England all put together for the relief of the settlers. And yet the editor of the "Nor'-Wester" newspaper saw fit in the following article to coolly decline an honour which was never presented to him—the fact being that some interested parties endeavoured to push the bashful (?) editor into the position of Secretary of the Relief Committee; but they were unsuccessful, for Mr. R. P. Meade was chosen in his stead. Mr. Meade, however, being a friend of Walter R. Bown, and assistant editor of the "Nor' Wester," proposed handing over the Secretaryship to his superior; but the latter, finding that the

Committee were not likely to receive him favorably, took his revenge in the columns of his newspaper as follows :—

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"Nothing would have afforded the proprietor of this journal more sincere gratification, than to be enabled to occupy the responsible position the confidence of a large portion of our public has accorded him, by appointing him "Secretary of the Co-operative Relief Committee," during his absence in Canada. On his return to the Settlement, he feels it to be a duty he owes to himself, as well as to his friends who are now engaged in the task of laying the cause of 'this people' before the general public, to prevent as far as possible, in his future conduct, all avoidable complications and contact with the Company and its officials in this Settlement. His experiences with many of them are of such a character as to prevent his entertaining those feelings of personal and public respect and consideration, which he would wish to have extended to the public functionaries of the Settlement. Where no confidence exists, no trust can be reposed. He, therefore, most respectfully, declines to act in connection with those whose former acts forbid confidence. The public, however, within and without the Settlement, may rest assured that, as far as the duties of a watchful public journalist are concerned, nothing will be lost by his declining the honorable and responsible position the public sentiment within the Settlement has accorded him."

Walter Robert Bown, poor fellow! it must have been gratifying to him when he afterwards learned that nothing

indeed was lost by his declining the honourable position which was *not* accorded him. For the Relief Committee, composed chiefly of the clergy of the Settlement, gave general satisfaction to the public at large and the sufferers in particular; notwithstanding they were *deprived* (!) of the services of the "Nor'-Wester" editor and proprietor. Cool! indeed, that the public journalist should decline giving his services for the benefit of his suffering fellow-country men, simply because the Company, the donator of over six thousand pounds sterling, was to have a hand in the distribution of the relief supplies. But we will again have occasion to refer to this public journalist and his friends, and will therefore, in the meantime, turn our attention to other matters in their regular course.

We have already referred to jail breaking and defying the laws, and the influence those acts on the part of a few men had on the community at large. About the same time there was a persistent effort made by malcontents and disturbers of the public peace to sow the seeds of discord amongst the settlers. Had this not been done, no action would have been taken by the people of the country in favor of a change from the free and happy form of government which they possessed. But when they found lawless men defying the laws, and the government too weak to punish such acts—when men, who had everything to gain and nothing to lose, continually presented a phantom of happiness and prosperity before their eyes, they like Adam and Eve, while enjoying a paradise of freedom, longed for something which they could not properly define; and the consequence was a series of petitions

to the Imperial Government for a change—some being in favor of annexation to Canada, while others desired a Crown Colony. Those petitions prayed for a change of government, on the plea that the existing one was inadequate for the wants of the country. We have already shown the cause of this inadequacy, and it only shows how the acts of a few men can affect the whole community. The Hudson's Bay Company were *not* loth to give up the reins of government when it became a troublesome, wearying and unsatisfactory matter to handle them. So long as the people of the country were in a state of peace, order and contentment, it was neither a hard nor an expensive undertaking to frame and carry out the few laws necessary for their guidance; but when unprincipled men put them at defiance and preached to the otherwise quiet settlers that they were abused people, then the Hudson's Bay Company found that it required both money and force to carry out the laws.

The small amount of taxation was not sufficient to furnish the money, and the Imperial Government was unwilling to send the troops unless at the expense of the Colony or the Hudson's Bay Company. For these reasons the Hudson's Bay Company expressed a desire to transfer their position as a governing body and become simply a mercantile one. The Charter, however, had to be dealt with; the right was a valuable one, seeing that it held a direct claim on the country. The land within the line of the Settlement belonged, by right of purchase from the Earl of Selkirk, to the Hudson's Bay Company, and therefore, although the Hudson's Bay Company were will-

ing and anxious to give up the governing power, they did not profess to abandon their chartered rights to the country.

Negotiations were opened and several propositions were discussed, and afterwards laid aside, until the Hon. Wm. McDougall and Sir George Cartier went to England on their mission regarding the North-West. At last, the negotiations were brought to a point, the Imperial Government acting as a sort of mediator between the Hudson's Bay Company and Canada. It was resolved that the sum of three hundred thousand pounds sterling should be paid to the Hudson's Bay Company, and that they, in return, should relinquish their claim to the country, retaining only their forts and a small tract of land around each one. The Imperial Government was the real party with whom the Company had to deal. The chartered rights had to be first handed back to the Crown to enable the latter to give over the country to Canada. The latter therefore agreed to pay the purchase money, and the Imperial Government became security for the amount. A day was then set (1st December, 1869) on which Canada was to receive the North-West into the arms of Confederation, it being also agreed that the Company should be paid the three hundred thousand pounds on the same day. During all those negotiations, however, not a word was spoken regarding the inhabitants of the country about to be transferred. Hon. Mr. McDougall represented them as only a few employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and a number of Indian tribes, but not a word was spoken concerning the state of the settlers—some twelve or fourteen

thousand souls. This was a great mistake, and led to deplorable results. The Parliament of Canada, apparently misled, framed a form of government (which was said to be only a temporary one) but which almost totally ignored the people of the country. All that was heard in Red River about it was that the new Governor had the right to appoint his own councillors from amongst the settlers, and also that so many more were to be sent from Canada to take part in the Red River Council. The effect of this was a good deal of dissatisfaction amongst the people, which was not bettered by the acts of certain Government officials sent into the country ahead of Mr. McDougall.

We have already referred to the grasshopper plague which devastated the Settlement during the summer of 1868, and how the Hudson's Bay Company came forward so nobly the ensuing winter to the relief of the starving people. It now appears that the miserable state of the settlers was taken advantage of by Mr. McDougall and his friends to obtain a foothold in the country before their time. In the fall of 1868, Messrs. Snow and Mair made their appearance in Red River, and announced to the inhabitants that they were sent by the Canadian Government for the purpose of building a road to the Lake of the Woods, and invited the co-operation and assistance of the people, stating, at the same time, that they proposed distributing their money and provisions in the shape of charity, modestly stipulating that the starving settlers should work in return at the rate of three pounds sterling per month for each man to be paid with the *charity* (?) in the shape of flour and pork at higher prices than

those articles could have been procured at the stores in the Settlement. Mr. Snow succeeded in employing a certain number of men from amongst the settlers, and, when flour was selling at £3 per barrel in the stores, he charged his employees £3 12s. and £4 per barrel; and at the same time he paid his men only £3 per month in that ratio for their work. This created dissatisfaction, and no wonder, especially when Mr. Snow stated openly that he never had a better class of men working under him than the Red River half-breeds. The next thing which caused still more discontent amongst the people was a concerted plan of a few, in which the Government officials in charge of the road were implicated, to buy up from Indians (who had no right to sell) parcels of land, on part of which people were actually living, in and around Oak Point, the headquarters of the Government works. This raised such a feeling of indignation against the parties concerned, that the head men in charge of the road summarily received notice from the neighbours around to quit the premises forthwith; and afterwards Mr. Snow was fined ten pounds sterling, at the Petty Court, for having given liquor to those same Indians. Those acts, on the part of the Canadian Government officials, whilst making them unpopular, seriously injured the cause of Canada in the minds of the Red River people; and matters were not afterwards improved by the doings and writings of that celebrated (!!) poet, Mr. Chas. Mair, who, after having received the hospitalities of many families, saw fit to ridicule in public print those who had entertained him, to speak and write disparagingly of the settlers as a body

and the ladies in particular. As the Hon. Wm. McDougall was then Minister of Public Works, there is no doubt that Messrs. Snow and Mair were sent at his desire to commence the Lake of the Woods road. But the late Governor MacTavish thought proper to protest against this action on the part of the Canadian Government, and wrote to England accordingly on the subject. It certainly was premature, on the part of Mr. McDougall, to send Messrs. Snow and Mair into the country at that time, when the Canadian Government had no right whatever in the country; but his reply to the letter of the late Governor MacTavish put matters in a still more peculiar position, for he stated then that the money appropriated towards the work on the Lake of the Woods road was intended for the relief of the settlers, and claimed that, *as the Hudson's Bay Company had done nothing for the starving people of Red River*, the Canadian Government had thought proper to send in supplies to be distributed (in return for labour) amongst those who were willing to work for it—the idea being that, while relief was afforded the people, a public benefit in the way of communication with the east through British Territory was being assisted. This was all very well so far as Mr. McDougall represented it; but how did the actual facts agree with the representation. In the first place, as we have shown, the Hudson's Bay Company, instead of doing nothing, did a great deal towards the relief of the settlers; and in the second, the money appropriated by the Canadian Government was distributed in such an unsatisfactory manner, and attended with so much unpleasantness, that, in place of proving

a blessing, it eventually was a curse to the country. We do not mean to say that the plan proposed by Mr. McDougall, for accomplishing the charitable intentions of his Government, was not a good one; but we are most certainly of the opinion that the men sent to carry it out failed most signally in the performance of their duty. Had Mr. McDougall's idea been properly acted upon, and no unfair advantage taken of the people, there is no doubt that it would have been productive of much good; but, as it was, it did a great deal of harm, and seriously injured the cause of Canada in Red River.

We have already referred to a certain few who made it their business to sow discord and disunion in the Settlement. We have also spoken of petitions signed by the people, praying for a change of Government; but we have to mention another plan adopted by the intriguers for the purpose of misleading people abroad as to the real sentiments of the inhabitants of Red River. We have reference to the political meetings held at different times in the colony, the sole object of which seemed to be to malign the Company. Those meetings, as they were represented, appeared to have been largely attended by the influential men of the community; whereas, in reality, they were miserable failures and the ridicule of the whole country. At one of them, for instance, only about half a dozen persons attended; and, at another, such an unruly crowd assembled together that the meeting broke up in a free fight. A correct statement of those meetings, however, never went to Canada, and of course Canadians (not being able to judge otherwise) concluded that they repre-

sented the voice of the people. We may mention here that there were a few meetings held in the Settlement to consider the state of the country, which were respectably attended, and where the proceedings were conducted in a praiseworthy manner; but at those there was no vile abuse hurled at the Hudson's Bay Company, the then existing Government of the country. There is no doubt whatever that the Hudson's Bay Company was latterly found to be weak and ineffective, on account of the lawless conduct of a few men in the Settlement, who defied punishment, and, on that account, the Red River settlers found that some better protection than the Company was necessary for the good of the country. But it is to their credit that they did not take part in the vile abuse heaped upon the institutions of the country by a few men. The very fact that the leaders of the anti-Hudson's Bay Company party were individuals, who hooted at law and order, who defied the execution of judgment, and sought by every means in their power to misrepresent matters and destroy what little protection there was to life and property, before any other form of government was able to take its place, was sufficient to condemn both their acts and themselves in the minds of law-abiding, peaceable, and altogether orderly people.

It would fill a large volume were we to cite the many instances of defiance to the governing power which occurred, and to which we have only casually referred. Messrs. Snow and Mair capped the climax to their reprehensible conduct as Government officials by joining hands with this ultra and dangerous party; and by that means

they totally severed the little confidence there may have been felt in them by the respectable settlers. Unfortunately for Canada the very men who maligned and defied the law of the land, styled themselves the Canadian party in Red River, and their principal cry seemed to be the superiority of Canadians generally over the Red River settlers. "You will see what Canada will do when she takes hold of the country," was a common observation (very vague, it is true); and it is a well-known fact that the man, who professed to be the leader of the party, openly declared that the half-breeds of Red River would have to give way before Canadians, and that the country would never succeed until they were displaced altogether. This, then, was the party to which Snow and Mair gave their support and countenance. Coupled with this, Mr. Mair made himself particularly busy in speaking and writing in favour of the principles of the party. Instead of confining himself to his Government duties, he employed a portion of his time in preaching a doctrine sufficient of itself to cause distrust in the minds of the Red River people as to the intentions of the Canadian Government. And besides this, a large number of our readers will have read the disgraceful descriptions given by him in the columns of the "Globe" and other newspapers regarding the North-West and its people. About this time Mr. McDougall was spoken of as likely to be appointed Governor of the North-West, as soon as the transfer of the country should be made to Canada. The policy to be adopted under the new Administration was discussed; and, as then understood in Red River, it meant

nothing more nor less than jumping from the frying-pan into the fire, if not worse. Mr. McDougall, it seemed, was to be the chooser of a portion of his councillors from amongst the settlers, and the balance was to be filled up from Canada. This appeared to be a queer change for the better; and then, when it was considered that the very men who sought to cry down the natives of the country, professed to be Mr. McDougall's right hand men and supporters, it is not to be wondered at if the Red River people came to the conclusion that those very friends of the new Governor were likely to fill the most important positions within his power to offer them. The consequence of this would have been that the parties, who had made themselves obnoxious in the Settlement, and who by their acts had lost the respect of the people generally, would have been exalted over the heads of the settlers, and the natives of the country would indeed have been as it were "wiped out" in earnest. We do not contend that Mr. McDougall would have pursued the course thus dreaded; but it seemed very likely that he might have done so, for the Canadian party made no secret of the power they would possess as soon as Mr. McDougall should assume the reins of Government. It was also pretty well known that the then Minister of Public Works held frequent communication with the leader of the so-called "Canadian party," and therefore it was to be expected that the views held by his friends in Red River would have great influence with the Hon. Mr. McDougall when he would become Governor. Thus matters stood. A general feeling of uneasiness and dis-

content pervaded all classes, and the policy of the new Government was pretty well condemned in all quarters by the inhabitants; while those expecting to be the gainers by it lauded it as the best that could have been done for the country. It is now pretty well known that the Government at Ottawa was entirely misled as to the actual state of matters in Red River. Mr. McDougall must have derived his information from a one-sided, self-interested party; and although we believe that, had he taken more pains to ascertain the true position of affairs in the North-West, he would have acted far differently from what he did, yet we cannot avoid blaming him for joining any party whatsoever, or even appearing to do so; and we most certainly are of the opinion that therein he showed himself incapable of filling the position of an impartial and consequently popular Governor.

The chain, which eventually ended in so much misery and trouble, was rapidly gathering its links together. In the first place, the necessity for a change of Government was forced upon the people by the acts of a few men who afterwards made it a boast that the natives of the country would have to give way before the incoming stranger. The next link was the evident endorsement by Canadian Government officials of the acts and policy of those men. The arrogance of those who professed to be the exponents of Canadian policy in Red River, together with the acts done by them which we have already mentioned, caused an underground feeling of dissatisfaction with everything pertaining to Canada in the North-West. It was at this stage in the public opinion of the Settlement

that Colonel Dennis arrived with a staff of surveyors, to divide and sub-divide the land into sections as they saw fit. This at all events was premature on the part of the Government at Ottawa, before any arrangements had been made with the people. It was bad enough to commence building a road, under the cloak of charity, but worse still to send in a party of men to run lines here and there, perhaps affecting the properties of individuals—who could tell ?—this too when the Hudson's Bay Company was the governing power of the country. Col. Dennis, certainly, acted in a gentlemanly and proper manner in the discharge of his troublesome duties. Still the people looked on the act of his party going to work, before the Canadian Government had any right in the country, as arbitrary and presumptuous. It can readily be believed, however, that if the minds of the settlers had not been prejudiced beforehand by the previous acts of Government officials, there would have been no interruption offered to the Colonel and his party in their surveying operations, so long as they did not interfere with any individual rights. But, mark now the action of the men who had all along been the principal cause of trouble in Red River, and who had cajoled Messrs Snow and Mair into committing acts which irrecoverably damaged them in the eyes of the people. Soon after Col. Dennis had commenced his surveying operations throughout the Settlement, these same men began to lay claim to all the most valuable spots of land not actually belonging to the settlers. The plan adopted was as follows:—When a lot was chosen by an individual, he proceeded to cut a furrow round it with

a plough and then drive stakes with his name marked upon them into the ground here and there. This was considered sufficient to give the claimant a right to the land; and in this way hundreds of acres were taken possession of for the purpose of speculation. It seemed, so soon as there appeared a certainty that Hon. Wm. McDougall was to be Governor, that the men, who professed to be his friends in Red River, made it a point to secure as much of the country to themselves as possible. It is notorious that the principal one in this movement, the leader of the so-called Canadian party, staked off sufficient land (had he gained possession of it) to make him one of the largest landed proprietors in the Dominion. Can it be wondered at if the people looked on with dismay at this wholesale usurpation of the soil? Is it surprising if they foresaw the predictions of the very men who acted the part of usurpers, as likely to come true, namely, that the natives were to be swamped by the incoming strangers? Will the Canadian public endorse the actions of this party? No! we are very sure they will not. Can it not be plainly seen that the men, who took upon themselves to represent Canada, in reality represented their own pockets; and that the cry in favor of Canadian annexation was raised merely to gratify their own selfish ends. We feel very sure that it would have made no difference had it been Uncle Sam instead of the Dominion, so long as they succeeded in filling their own pockets thereby. Col. Dennis, when he first arrived in the Settlement, appeared to be beyond the influence of any party, and, on that account, he was favorably received by

the people; but, unfortunately for him, he gradually became entangled by the same toils that had proved the ruin of his predecessors, Messrs. Snow and Mair. Col. Dennis found out, when it was too late, that he had made a mistake in hobnobbing with men who had made themselves obnoxious to the people of the country; for it was natural to suppose that, when he became a frequent visitor at the house of the acknowledged head of the party and, also, a recipient of an unusual amount of hospitalities from the same person, he could not avoid being influenced by the man whose society he thus courted. In the face of this, the wholesale staking out of land by the very parties with whom Col. Dennis was on such friendly terms, and the fact too that several members of the surveying party took large claims not only for themselves but also for their friends in Canada or elsewhere, made it appear that the country was indeed being taken possession of by strangers with a vengeance. It began to look as if no man's property was safe; for although the lands staked off in the way already described were not under cultivation, there was no saying how soon farms held by individuals would be claimed in the same manner; for each man's farm, according to the bargain with the Hudson's Bay Company, runs out two miles from the river bank, and as the greater portion of it was open prairie not fenced in, there was nothing to prevent anyone from laying claim to it by simply running a furrow round it and planting stakes here and there—an easy way, it must be admitted, to become a landed proprietor. Those acts, on the part of the individuals who professed to be

the warm supporters of Mr. McDougall, were weaving a nice web of trouble for him. It was a mistake in the first place sending Col. Dennis and his party into the country before the transfer of the North-West was fully accomplished, and there is no doubt that the Hon. Wm. McDougall, as Minister of Public Works, is responsible for that error; but it is more than probable that the surveying operations would not have met with so much resistance, had it not been for the men to whom Col. Dennis seemed to ally himself, more particularly when those very same parties made it a point to lay claim to an unusually large amount of land. The two things put together looked bad, first the surveying and then the unjust appropriation of land on the top of it.

We have referred to the only newspaper at that time existing in the Settlement. Had it, as it ought to have done, laid before the public abroad the great injustice that was being committed against the people of the North-West, and also to the character of Canadians generally; had the same journal shown up the scandalous transactions of the men in charge of the Lake of the Woods road, the result might have been to the benefit of all parties. On the contrary, however, the men connected with the press in Red River happened to be interested parties, and therefore screened matters. What did they care whether the cause of Canada received an injury, so long as they made money and acquired property through it? The "Nor'-Wester," instead of condemning the acts that were causing so much dissatisfaction in the Settlement, saw fit to ignore them altogether; and, in the case of Messrs.

Snow and Mair, it regaled its readers with accounts of the rapid progress made by them in their work on the Lake of the Woods road, a progress, however, which, while appearing wonderful, did not in reality show the same fruits of industry, skill and good management.

It now became known for a certainty that Hon. Wm. McDougall was to be the Governor of the North-West under the new regime of affairs. His well known connection with the men, whose acts had been so distasteful to the people at large, made him by no means popular in the Settlement. Still all that was heard about it was mere expression of opinion between man and man, when they chanced to meet together and talk over the state of affairs. No action was openly taken by the settlers in the matter, and, on this account, no serious apprehensions were felt in reference to the peace of the Settlement. But, although unknown at the time, except to those who participated in them, there were, it appears, regular nightly meetings held amongst the French half-breeds, the result of which was a determination amongst a few of them to prevent Mr. McDougall from coming into the Settlement to assume the position of Governor, until some guarantee was received that the interests of the natives of the country should be respectod. Nothing was known, however, about this movement, except amongst those who took part in it; and it is wonderful how secret they were in their undertaking.

When Hon. Joseph Howe visited Red River in the fall of 1869, there was no word of any rising on the part of the people; there was certainly a feeling of uneasiness and

dissatisfaction amongst the settlers generally, regarding the form of Government proposed for them (provisional though it was declared to be), but nothing further was known. It can certainly be said that Mr. Howe, instead of fostering the feelings of discontent, did all in his power to counteract it, and give confidence to the people. But because the honorable member for Hants did not see fit to hobnob with the men who had been the cause of the trouble of Messrs. Snow, Mair and Dennis, and who afterwards contributed greatly to the ruin of Mr. McDougall, he was immediately branded as a traitor to his country; and it certainly does not reflect much credit on his opponents, that on such weak grounds, they should have attacked him in the way they did. Mr. Howe's reason for visiting the country was a very good one, namely,—to see for himself what it was like, so that he might be the better able to judge when dealing afterwards with matters connected with it. He did not come to Red River to take part in any party feeling then existing; or to propound the policy of the expected Governor. He merely came to see the people generally; to gather facts the same as any private individual having an interest in the country might have wished to do. On the day of his arrival, he was immediately invited to become a guest at the house of the very man who had made himself particularly prominent as the head of the so-called Canadian party; but Mr. Howe was not to be caught with such chaff, for he at once declined the hospitality offered. Had he accepted, what would have been the consequence? Why, it would have confirmed the opinion already strong

in the minds of the people, that the country was to be ruled by a few men—men who, in fact, made no secret of their boasted influence at headquarters in Ottawa. And the result would have been a more general and outspoken denunciation of the Government's policy. The fact of the matter is that the visit of Hon. Joseph Howe, instead of doing harm, in reality, did much good. Before his arrival it was pretty generally believed that the Canadian Government received all its information from a one-sided source, the one, indeed, that had caused so much trouble in Red River, and that therefore it was influenced altogether by that party in the Settlement. It was currently reported indeed, that the man who was the head of the party was in direct communication with the Government at Ottawa, and also that he was received as an influential man at the seat of Government, whenever he visited it (which he did frequently). It was the boast also of his party in the North-West that they could and would as it were, "rule the roast." Now the people of the country felt that, if this was indeed the case, their chances would be very small in comparison with those of the incoming stranger. We may here mention a circumstance which has been much discussed and which was laid hold of by the Opposition benches in the House at Ottawa and their supporters of the press throughout the Dominion, but which we feel sure, when shown to them in its proper light, will appear altogether in a different form from the one they supposed it to be. We have reference to the hoisting of a British ensign, with the word "Canada" inserted on the face of it in large white letters. Now,

the fact of a British flag being hoisted would never have troubled the people of the country; for it was their acknowledged flag, and the sight of it waving in their midst, no matter at whose door, would have been looked upon with pride instead of suspicion. But a British flag was made use of to represent the feelings and sentiments of a few men; and we are not very sure whether Britain allows her flag to be tampered with in this or any other way. We are of the opinion that it is a flagrant breach of what is right, when anyone dares to alter or add to the emblem which every true subject of the Queen looks upon with pride. Do the Canadian people think it necessary to represent their nationality by inscribing the word "Canada" on every British flag hoisted throughout the Dominion? Is it not sufficient to show the Union Jack, or Ensign, without altering the face of it? But, when it is considered that the North-West had not been transferred to Canada, and taking into account the previous acts and behaviour of the men who hoisted the flag in question, is it to be wondered at if the people looked upon it as a flagrant piece of arrogance and party feeling? At this time, on account of the disgraceful conduct of the so-called Canadian party, there was little feeling in favor of Canadians generally throughout the Settlement; and the acts of Government officials, sent to the country ahead of Mr. McDougall, did not improve matters. If Mr. Howe (as it has been reported he did) requested that the flag we have described should not be hoisted in his honor; and, if he did shew an impartiality in his intercourse with all classes of the people, he only laid the corner stone of a

friendly feeling for Canada, which was much needed at the time in the Settlement. Was it acting the part of a traitor to his country, if he showed the people that his Government felt no partiality for one class over another; and that no one-sided influence would have any effect on him personally, or on his colleagues generally? We say most emphatically that the Hon. Joseph Howe laid the corner stone of good feeling for Canada in Red River; for, after his departure, it was felt throughout the Settlement that the Dominion Government were not led by the nose to such a degree as people had reason to suppose. It was not so much the flag itself that irritated the people, as its being hoisted by the man who vaunted his influence over the future of the country, to the benefit of the stranger over that of the settler. Is it the character of Canadians to attempt riding rough-shod over a peaceable and quiet people? Is it their desire that men representing them abroad should set themselves up as gods, and say, "Fall down and worship us?" On the contrary, would it not have been more characteristic of Canadian representatives, or of those who professed to be such, to have said to the people of the North-West—"We are as you are; our ways are your ways; we want to be brothers, and, if by our united efforts we can improve this vast country, let us join hands." Had this been said, where would have been the cause for disagreement between the people of Canada and that of Red River? Hon. Joseph Howe preached this doctrine of good-will to all those whom he came in contact with; and, instead of endeavouring to injure Mr. McDougall, as it has been said he did, he spoke in the

highest terms of his ability, and the great interest he (Mr. McDougall) felt in the country and its people.

In answer to the question which has been asked in regard to Mr. Howe's visit to Red River—why he did not endeavour to stop the troubles which broke out afterwards? it can be said that, when he was in the Settlement there was no idea in the minds of old settlers, and men who had better opportunities for judging than Hon. Joseph Howe, that any serious trouble was imminent. How, therefore, could Mr. Howe stop the trouble? It was some time after his departure from Red River that the first steps were taken by Riel and his associates; and, to give some idea of the small beginning then made, we may mention that there were only six or eight men present when the barrier was raised to keep Mr. McDougall out. Fatigued by his hard trip over the plains, and not being in good health at the time, Mr. Howe kept a good deal in his quarters at the hotel. He, however, made a couple of trips up and down the Red River and Assiniboine River, seeing enough, it is certain, to satisfy himself what the country was like. Had he come earlier in the season, he would have seen the Settlement to much better advantage than he did, as everything, while he was in Red River looked bleak and miserable, preparatory to the change from autumn to winter. There is no doubt whatever that Mr. Howe's visit did a great deal of good; and it is quite certain that had delegates been sent into the country ahead of Mr. McDougall, to prepare the way for him, the troubles which afterwards occurred would never have taken place; for the people could then have been assured that

the wish of the Canadian Government was to do right by the settlers, and that, if an error had been made in the commencement, it would soon be remedied. Instead of this, however, Mr. McDougall started from Canada before the transfer of the country had been accomplished, and this, of itself, was the cause of many of the complications that followed.

Soon after Mr. Howe's departure the troubles commenced, by Riel, with six or eight followers, erecting a barrier across the road at a point near the Roman Catholic church at Rivière Sale. After that, public and private meetings were held at which Riel and others spoke, and the consequence was that some three or four hundred men assembled together at the barrier with the avowed object of keeping Mr. McDougall out at all hazards. A council was formed, of which John Bruce was elected President, and Louis Riel, Secretary—the council chamber being in the house adjoining the Roman Catholic church, and occupied by Rev. M. Richot. About this time the following affidavit was made before Dr. Cowan, at Fort Garry, by Mr. Hyman:—

"*Red River Settlement*, To-wit: } "W. Hyman maketh oath and saith:—

"During the afternoon of yesterday some twenty men or thereabouts, fully armed, made their appearance at the crossing of the Rivière Sale, on the road between here and Pembina; and other and smaller parties of men, also armed, kept coming in during the afternoon and evening, till as many as forty were in the party:

"That the said party of forty men are now billeted (or were when the deponent left home this a.m., at which time they had sent off some men for more provisions) round in the adjacent houses :

"That the men composing the said party, deponent believes, all belong to the parishes of St. Norbert, above mentioned, and St. Vital; and that the avowed object of their meeting in arms, and waiting at the said point, was to turn back the new Governor, Mr. McDougall, and not allow him to enter into the colony—one of the men, in conversation with the deponent, who was naturally anxious to find out the meaning of such an assemblage with arms in their hands, told the deponent the above was their object ; and further said that, if the Governor persisted in attempting to come further than that point, *i.e.*, the crossing of the Rivière Sale, they would shoot him :

"The deponent saith further:—

"That he was informed by this party, and believes the same (inasmuch as he saw a number of horsemen passing previously), that another party mounted, supposed to consist of twenty men or more, are now in advance somewhere about Scratching River, accompanied by a man named Riel, whose intention is to stop the Governor, and to submit to him several questions or, rather, demands, in the event of refusing which he is warned not to proceed : There is a further and third party between the two points mentioned, which this deponent, from information received, believes to number forty men. Should the Governor persist in coming forward, notwithstanding repeated warnings, these parties will fall back on the reserve at the

Rivière Sale ; and then final action will be taken as above mentioned, should he still further endeavor to force his way on to the Settlement.

"The deponent further saith :

"That, among other houses in the vicinity, where certain of the forty men at Rivière Sale are billeted, ten of the armed party find quarters at the house of the Curé, Rev. Père Richot;

"Finally, that the deponent seriously believes that the said men are truly in earnest; and that, without prompt action be taken by the authorities to avert the same, a serious calamity is about to ensue—in an outrage which may be of a fatal character on the person of the honourable gentleman now about entering the Colony to assume the charge of Government.

(Signed) "W. HYMAN.

"Sworn before me, at Fort
"Garry, this 22nd day of
"October, 1869."

"(Signed) WILLIAM COWAN, J.P."

The above document, it will be seen, makes no mention of any attempt as likely to be made on Fort Garry; yet it has been freely circulated, on the strength of Hyman's affidavit, that the Hudson's Bay Company were notified beforehand that Riel intended capturing it; but that the officials in Fort Garry paid no attention to the warning and quietly allowed about sixty men or more to billet themselves on the premises. We will, however, have

occasion to again refer to this, and in the meantime we will touch on other matters.

While the French half-breeds continued to assemble in force at Rivière Sale, no action whatever was taken by the English-speaking settlers. In fact, Col. Dennis, who made a trip down the Red River amongst the people, found that fifty men could not be collected for the purpose of bringing in Governor McDougall. The Council of Assiniboia, in the meantime, had several meetings; and their ultimate decision and advice to Mr. McDougall, and which was forwarded to him in the shape of a letter, was that it would be better for him, in the existing state of the country, for his own peace and safety, and for the public welfare, to remain at Pembina, and not endeavour to force himself into the Settlement, especially as it was found that there were so few favourably inclined towards him. Col. Dennis had prepared a report of the state of affairs for Mr. McDougall, and which was read before the Council of Assiniboia before its transmission to Pembina. The Council unanimously agreed that it was a very fair and accurate description, and therefore approved of its being sent. We may here give an extract from that report, which proves that, although the English-speaking people did not agree with the action taken by their French brethren, yet they had no desire to rise in arms against them under the circumstances; and further, that there was no great amount of feeling in favour of the Government about to be established.

Here is the extract we have reference to:—

"We feel confidence in the future administration of this

country under Canadian rule; *at the same time we have not been consulted in any way as a people in entering into the Dominion.*

"*The character of the new Government has been settled in Canada without our being consulted.* We are prepared to accept it respectfully, to obey the laws and to become good subjects; but, when you present to us *the issue of a conflict with the French party,* with whom we have hitherto lived in friendship, backed up, as they would be, by the Roman Catholic Church, which appears probable by the course at present being taken by the priests, in which conflict it is almost certain the aid of the Indians would be invoked, and perhaps obtained, by that party, *we feel disinclined to enter upon it, and think that the Dominion should assume the responsibility of establishing amongst us what it, and it alone, has decided upon.*

"At the same time, we are ready, should the Council make an appeal to the Settlement, to prevent the gross outrage contemplated, by a large mounted deputation *unarmed,* to meet and escort the Honorable William McDougall to Winnipeg; and thus show to the French party, now in arms, that the English-speaking portion of the Colony is entirely opposed to the present threatening movement by a portion of the French half-breeds. We will cheerfully and promptly respond to the call."

What greater proof can we have that it was, at that time, a matter of impossibility to raise a force amongst the settlers to put down the French. No ill-feeling had as yet arisen between the two sections of the Settlement; and

the English-speaking people did not feel that they had sufficient at stake to warrant their taking up arms, and inaugurating a civil war, the consequences of which, at that season of the year, might have been the entire destruction of the Settlement. And yet the Hudson's Bay Company have been blamed over and over again for not having called out the settlers to put down the rebellion at its commencement. Those who raised that cry were by no means familiar with the circumstances or the character of the people that had to be dealt with.

In connection with the above, we give below an extract from a letter, dated 30th October, 1869, from Governor MacTavish to Mr. McDougall, which was endorsed by the members of the Council of Assiniboia, as representing their views on the situation of affairs ; and which proves that the Hudson's Bay Company, while placed in a very trying position, was unable to render Mr. McDougall any practical assistance at the time, viz. :

" From Colonel Dennis' despatches and this letter, you will derive as full and accurate knowledge of the position of affairs here as, I believe, can very well be given in writ ing ; and, having satisfied myself that you are acquainted with all the material circumstances of the case, I think that you are now in possession of the principal data for enabling you to determine the important question of your movements ; and I need not say that I shall most anxiously await your decision. But without, of course, in any way meaning to prescribe the line to be pursued, I may be permitted to add that, to those who, with myself, have been deliberating upon the most advisable steps to be ta-

ken in circumstances of so embarrassing and so critical a nature, there have been suggested three courses for meeting the difficulty as it now stands. The first is, that there happily being, among even the French half-breeds, a considerable element of well-disposed persons, there should be carefully selected from that section a body of from twenty to thirty men, who, mounted and armed, should proceed to Pembina, and escort you to your residence in the Settlement by a roundabout road, which would keep you entirely clear from the roads on which the malcontents are known to have taken up their positions. The second is, that of making a public call upon the whole loyal portion of the Settlement to turn out in the cause of order, and to the number of say 300 unarmed able-bodied men, if such a force could be mustered, proceed to Pembina and escort you into the Settlement by the usual route, whether the malcontents remain upon it or not. And the third is, that you should remain at Pembina and await the issue of conciliatory negotiations, with the view of procuring a peaceable dispersion of the malcontents. Now, with respect to the first of these courses, it is in my opinion open to the grave objection, that, even if it were to issue in your safe arrival amongst us, it would obviously involve a virtual acknowledgment of the ascendancy of these lawless people, and would have a direct tendency to inspire them with fresh courage in the prosecution of their designs; and besides I am strongly of the opinion that, under present circumstances, your personal safety could not be sufficiently provided for by the attendance of so small a body of men, as that

proposed—a body large enough to provoke a collision, but probably far from strong enough to meet it. The second is one which all along the local authorities have been pondering; but one which, as in somewhat similar emergencies on former occasions, they have hitherto shrunk from adopting, partly from a misgiving as to the extent and the spirit of the response to such a call as that proposed, and partly also, but principally from an apprehension of precipitating a collision between different sections of the people, which might plunge not only the Settlement but the whole Territory into all the disasters of a war of races and religions—a war in which the legitimate object for which it had been begun would probably soon be lost sight of, and passion and prejudice alone animate the minds of those engaged in it. To the Council and myself it appears that, under present circumstances, the third proposal is the only one that can be regarded as prudent or practicable; and it is therefore our opinion that you should remain at Pembina and await the issue of conciliatory negotiations in the hope of procuring a peaceable dispersion of the malcontents. I have only to add that, although this letter proceeds ostensibly from myself, it embodies the views of the Council of Assiniboia, and that at a meeting of the Council to-day, held for the express purpose, it was unanimously adopted as a communication which I should immediately make you, earnestly hoping that ere long some peaceable solution of all these difficulties may be arrived at."

Col. Dennis, when he found the task of enlisting the sympathies of the English-speaking people, in favour of

Governor McDougall, a useless one, at once left Winnipeg by a roundabout way, in company with Mr. Hallett as a guide, and joined his chief at Pembina. Before doing so, however, he despatched a portion of his employees in the direction of Portage La Prairie, on the ostensible business of attending to their surveying operations; but, as it has since been ascertained, their real object was to act in concert with any other party in the Settlement, should it be necessary to bring in Governor McDougall by force. It was bad enough to send in surveyors before their time, but it was really too bad to turn them into soldiers the first opportunity that occurred. And all this time the Hudson's Bay Company was the ruling power in the land. It was rebellion on the one hand, when the French half-breeds obstructed the public highway, and prevented private individuals from passing to and from the Settlement; but was it not also rebellion when Col. Dennis organized his party of surveyors into a small band of soldiers, for the purpose of carrying on war in a country which did not at the time belong, or owe allegiance, to Canada? Be that as it may, however, Col. Dennis joined Mr. McDougall at Pembina; and it was well he did, for had it not been for his energy and activity the whole party of Government officials would have remained houseless and comfortless during their stay on the American frontier. Col. Dennis succeeded in making Mr. McDougall and his family as comfortable as possible under the circumstances; and then a series of correspondence was carried on between the would-be Governor and a few individuals in the Settlement, some of whom had pre-

sented an address to Col. Dennis, containing 22 signatures, offering to escort Governor McDougall into the Settlement. We must not forget to mention the fact that, when Mr. McDougall decided upon remaining at Pembina, Mr. Provencher, his secretary, and Capt. Cameron, who had a Government appointment, resolved upon making an attempt to enter the Settlement. It was a useless undertaking on their part. Mr. Provencher came first and was promptly stopped at the barrier, but was allowed to remain several hours at the Church, before returning to Pembina. This he did and spent his time in conversation with Rev. Mr. Richot, Riel, Bruce and others. A laughable incident occurred, as Mr. Provencher was being shown the way back to Pembina; for, just as he came from the Church, Capt. Cameron hove in sight, driving a spirited pair of horses. The bold Captain did not appear to have the slightest particle of fear in his composition, for, notwithstanding the fact that a number of men presented their guns at his breast, he (it is said) called out "to clear away that blawsted fence and let him pass"; nor did he think it worth while to drop his eye-glass in the excitement. Several men, however, stepped forward, and, taking the horses by the bridles, they turned their heads in the direction from whence they came, and Messrs Provencher and Cameron were escorted back to the American frontier by a guard of 25 or 30 men. This escort had orders from Riel to see Mr. McDougall and his whole party across the line into Uncle Sam's Dominion. Accordingly, when they reached the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Pembina, the leader of the guards

(Lepine) notified Mr. McDougall of his intentions and gave him till nine o'clock the next morning to prepare for his departure. Mr. McDougall remonstrated, showed his commission, and at last threatened Lepine with the consequences that were likely to follow; but all to no purpose, for, at the hour appointed for their departure from the Hudson's Bay Company's post, Mr. McDougall was obliged to order his horses to be harnessed; and, soon after, the whole party were *en route* for the village of Pembina. It was at this juncture that the services of Col. Dennis were found to be so valuable; for he went to work with his usual energy and activity in such matters, and soon had Mr. McDougall and his family as comfortable as possible under the circumstances. A guard was in the meantime left by Lepine at the Hudson's Bay Company's post to watch Mr. McDougall's proceedings, while he returned with the balance to Rivière Sale. There was about this time a good deal of speculation as to the future movements of the would-be Governor. Some were of the opinion that he would return immediately to Canada; while others thought that he would remain where he was, awaiting events as they might turn up and also advices from Ottawa. In connexion with this we give below an extract from another letter, dated 9th November, from Governor MacTavish to Mr. McDougall :—

"Towards the end of your last letter, you desire my opinion as to whether any useful purpose is likely to be served by your remaining, for any length of time, at Pembina, and, feeling the importance that may be attached to any expression from me on that point, *I have taken*

care to test my own ideas very closely by the opinions of the Council. In compliance with your wishes, let me say, as the substance of our opinion on this point, that we perceive there is as little chance as ever of these people receding from opposition to your coming into the Settlement; that the attempt might be productive of the most disastrous consequences; and that, while you remain at Pembina, the effect, so far as the Settlement is concerned, is likely to be the perpetuation and possibly even the aggravation of this state of disturbance and danger. You can, therefore, yourself judge whether any good purpose would be likely to be answered by your remaining at Pembina; and, perhaps, your own view of the matter will be such as to prepare you for my adding, as I assure you I do with a feeling of inexpressible regret, that to the Council and myself it appears that your early return to Canada is not only essential for the peace of the country, but also advisable in the interest of the establishment in the future of the Canadian Government. It is no doubt possible that a little more time may change the minds of the men; and public meetings are notified which may somewhat alter the present state of affairs. Your immediate departure ought not therefore, perhaps, to be at once determined upon. It might be advisable a few days longer to wait the course of events, or at any rate until I can again communicate with you; but at present I confess I see but little reason to expect the occurrence of anything that is likely materially to change the opinion I have expressed with regard to your movements."

Had Mr. McDougall followed the advice contained in

the above letter, there is every reason to suppose that he would have saved both himself and the country a great deal of trouble; and very probably he would, at this present day be occupying the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, instead of being simply, the Hon. Wm. McDougall without office. But the unfortunate would-be Governor, unfortunately, had friends in Red River, who consulted their own interests more than they did his; and their only salvation was to get Mr. McDougall into the Settlement by hook or by crook, without considering the consequences at all. And so they set their heads together to concoct measures to bring in the new Governor. It is now quite certain that Mr. McDougall was entirely misled by those parties, for they represented a different state of affairs from what actually existed; and it is reasonable to suppose that he, while relying too much on information from a one-sided source, was induced to lay aside advice which was meant for his good, and which, had he followed it, would have saved him a great deal of trouble. When it was represented to Mr. McDougall that he had many friends in the Settlement, he actually had very few who felt the slightest enthusiasm in his behalf. It is notorious that on one occasion an address or petition was got up in his favour, containing the signatures of school children, copied from the school registers. Mr. McDougall had good reason to say—"Save me from my friends." The fact of the matter was that very few could be found at that time to come out and openly support Mr. McDougall. On the contrary, the majority of the people felt that they had been overlooked, and consequently wronged through

the policy proposed by the new Governor and his party; and, although the English-speaking people were not prepared to go the length the French half-breeds seemed to be doing, yet they did not at all feel well pleased at the arrangements made for the future government of the country.

The French now began to carry things with a higher hand than there seemed to be any necessity for. The mails were frequently detained; and parties stopped at the barrier, who had nothing whatever to do with the troubles. The detention of the mails affected the whole Settlement; and in this way the French gave cause for many and just complaints on the part of the English-speaking people, who were not at all concerned in the rising; and, in fact, the bitter feeling, which afterwards became so strong between the two sections of the Settlement, took its rise from this infringement upon the freedom of the settlers generally. In the midst of those occurrences, Riel and his followers (for John Bruce, although nominally President, was merely a tool in the hands of the Secretary) resolved upon the capture of Fort Garry. One fine afternoon, therefore, the 2nd November, 1869, a number of men in small bands might have been seen tramping along the road leading from Rivière Sale to Fort Garry. On being questioned where they were going, the invariable reply was—"To a meeting in the town." Their real mission, however, was to take possession of Fort Garry; but no one except themselves had any idea of their intention. It has been said that the Hudson's Bay Company's officers were aware of the fact

beforehand, and could consequently have prevented the taking of the Fort. The report was not only untrue, but ridiculous; as it is impossible to see plainly how the Hudson's Bay Company were to be benefited by the presence of from 60 to 120 men billeted upon them.

Riel and his men were met by Dr. Cowan, a chief trader in the Company's service, and the officer in charge of the Fort.

"What do you want here with all these armed men?" asked Dr. Cowan.

"We have come to guard the Fort," answered Riel.

"Against whom?" inquired Dr. Cowan.

"Against a danger," was the reply, "which I have reason to believe threatens it; but which I cannot explain to you at present."

Dr. Cowan then protested against Riel's proceeding; but the only satisfaction he could get was that nothing inside the walls would be disturbed, and that the armed men would leave the Fort in a few days. Those few days, as we will see, lengthened out into months; and Fort Garry remained in the hands of the insurgents from that day until the arrival of the troops in Red River. On the 6th of November, Riel and several of his followers called on Dr. Bown, the editor of the "Nor'-Wester," and handed him a document, which they requested him to print. He, in reply, stated that he would have to consult his friends first, which he immediately left to do; and, on his return, he refused to comply with their request. Riel's men then took Dr. Bown and kept him in close

custody, in one of the rooms of his printing house, with two men to guard him. They then took possession of his press and type, and, calling in the aid of two experienced hands, they succeeded in printing off the following "Notice," Mr. James Ross being present to correct proof:

"PUBLIC NOTICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF RUPERT'S LAND.

"The President and Representatives of the French-speaking population of Rupert's Land in Council (the invaders of our rights being now expelled), already aware of your sympathy, do extend the hand of friendship to you, our friendly fellow-inhabitants; and, in doing so, invite you to send twelve representatives from the following places, viz.:—

St. John's	1	St. Margaret's	1
Headingly	1	St. James'	1
St. Mary's	1	Kildonan	1
St. Paul's	1	St. Andrew's	1
St. Clement's	1	St. Peter's	1
Town of Winnipeg	2		

in order to form one body with the above Council, consisting of twelve members, to consider the present political state of this country and to adopt such measures as may be deemed best for the future welfare of the same.

"A meeting of the above Council will be held in the

Court House at Fort Garry, on Tuesday, the 16th day of November, at which the invited representatives will attend.

"By order of the President,

"LOUIS RIEL,
"*Secretary.*

"Winnipeg, Nov. 6th, 1869."

CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF THE INSURRECTION—CORRESPONDENCE OF MR. MACDOUGALL AND THE GOVERNOR OF ASSINIBOIA—CONVENTION OF DELEGATES—PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR MACTAVISH.

A RUMOR now reached the ears of the insurgents that Mr. McDougall, having brought with him a quantity of arms from Canada, intended running them into the Settlement, to be used by the Canadian party in Red River, for the purpose of bringing in the Governor by force. On this account an order was issued by Riel to his followers to stop and search all carts coming towards Fort Garry at the barrier. This caused a great deal of ill-feeling amongst the English-speaking population, as a number of carts belonging to parties, who were not connected with the rising, were detained, and packages supposed to contain arms were broken open. It is customary for the traders to bring in each spring and fall a quantity of flint locks and double-barrel shot guns for the use of the fur trade. Now it happened that a few cases of these arms were discovered amongst the other merchandise belonging to certain English merchants. Riel, although he was perfectly aware that they did not belong to the Canadian Government, saw fit to take possession of those; and to this day, we

believe, the owners have neither recovered them nor their equivalent in value. This act was not only an unjust one to the parties doing business in the Settlement, as it prevented their being able to properly outfit their men for the winter, but it was also a very unfortunate one as it only added to the ill-feeling which began to creep in between the two sections of the people. But, at the same time, it was still more unfortunate for Mr. McDougall, as well as an ill-judged act on his part, to bring with him cases of arms at the outset of his career as Governor of a new country—where he was as it were a stranger, and where the people were strangers to him. He might have known that the circumstances, when blazed abroad by the newspapers, would be looked upon with suspicion by the people of the North-West, even had there been no opposition to his entrance into the Territory. A regiment of regular soldiers would have been viewed as only a step taken to keep up the dignity of the Government, and protect the settlers, if necessary ; but arms, without the men to handle them, was certainly a queer method to sustain the dignity of the law. Be that as it may, it was a very unfortunate occurrence, under the existing state of circumstances, that those arms were shipped along with the other baggage of the new Governor. We think that our readers will see the utter absurdity of the charge made against the Hudson's Bay Company that "they allowed Riel and his men to take possession of Fort Garry, when they had it in their power to prevent it." In the first place, it is quite clear that no one, except the insurgents themselves, had the slightest idea that they intended

any other movement than that of merely keeping Mr. McDougall out of the Territory; and, in the second, it is very difficult to perceive how the Hudson's Bay Company was to be benefited by the capture of their own private property. We will give another extract from Governor MacTavish's letter of 9th November, touching on this point, which explains itself:—

"The occurrence, to which I have alluded in the preceding paragraph as being serious, is this, that on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 2nd inst., a number of these daring people, suddenly and without the least intimation of their intention to make such a move, took possession of the gates of Fort Garry, where they placed themselves inside and outside the gates to the number in all of about one hundred and twenty, and where night and day they have constantly kept a pretty strong armed guard. On being asked what they meant by such a movement upon the Fort, they said their object was to protect it. 'Protect it from what?' they were asked. Their answer was—'from danger.' 'Against what danger?' they were asked. To this question, they replied that 'they could not now specify the danger; but that they would do so hereafter;' and obstinately took up the positions they have since kept in spite of all our protests and remonstrances at such a bold and high-handed proceeding. On coming into the Fort, they earnestly disclaimed all intention of injuring either person or property within it; and, it must be allowed, that in that respect they have kept their word; but it is an inconvenience, and a danger next to intolerable, to have a body of armed

men, even with professions of peace towards ourselves, forcibly billeted upon an establishment such as this. Their intentions, in coming to the Fort, they have never definitely expressed; nor have they yet specified the danger from which their presence was meant to protect the place. We are therefore left in some measure to conjectures; and by these we are strongly led to believe that you were expected to come to the Fort; and that, by thus having previous possession of the gates, they felt that they would be sure of keeping you out. It is needless to ask why their presence was submitted to, for I presume you already know enough of the circumstances fully to understand that it was only borne as being apparently, with respect to immediate results, the less formidable of two very serious evils."

Mr. McDougall, in the meantime, had, in his correspondence with Governor MacTavish (limited though it was) shown a degree of fretfulness and even childishness, which seems strange in a man of his reported ability; and, as an example of this, we give the following extract from his letter of 7th November :—

"I wrote you two letters, both in one envelope, detailing the proceedings and position of things here and suggesting a Proclamation from your Government, explaining the nature *of the change in the Government* and warning the malcontents of the consequences of their acts. I was disappointed to hear from those who met me that they had not been informed by any one in authority that *the change of Government* was an Imperial act and had the sanction of the Queen. I also reminded you and your

council that, *until the actual transfer and proclamation*, you are the legal rulers and responsible for the preservation of the public peace. I am surprised to learn, from a communication brought by the bearer of this, that a few rebels have been allowed to take your Fort unopposed by public protest. Of course I am not in the best position to judge or advise in such a crisis; but, in the hope that, by some means, the people will find out what it is they are doing, and will shrink from the consequences of war and bloodshed and confiscation which are sure to follow, I shall remain here until I hear officially of the transfer of authority and shall then be guided by circumstances as to what I shall say and do."

There is one point observable in the above, which is worthy of mention, namely: that Mr. McDougall was urging upon Governor MacTavish a course of action, which afterwards proved his own ruin, and which has called down upon him the censure of all right-thinking people. We have reference to his suggestion that Governor MacTavish should issue a Proclamation explaining the nature of the change in the Government, before there was any certainty of that change having taken place. In fact, the tone of Mr. McDougall's whole correspondence with, and regarding, the authorities in the Settlement, was one of irritability, censure and a want of confidence in their willingness to assist him in his predicament. Instead of writing to Mr. MacTavish in a friendly manner, he saw fit to insinuate that there was no apparent desire on the part of the authorities to put down the rebellion; and, moreover, he undertook to make suggestions

as to what should have been done, under the circumstances, by Mr. MacTavish, and found fault with what was done. When it is remembered that William MacTavish had spent the greater portion of his lifetime in the North-West—during a part of which he occupied the important positions of Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the Colony of Assiniboia—when we recollect that he was a man respected by all classes—a man of the strictest integrity, and, moreover, thoroughly acquainted with the people of the country, it must be admitted that, when Mr. McDougall set himself up as an adviser to such a man as to how he should act in the discharge of his duties, he certainly placed himself in a very ridiculous position. Let any one read the correspondence of the two men and give an impartial judgment. That of Mr. McDougall's is fretful, irritable, fault-finding, and altogether aimless in its general details; while the letters of Governor MacTavish, although written from a sick bed, are expressive of deep sorrow at the unfortunate position of Mr. McDougall, with an earnest desire to assist him, if possible; but, at the same time, they show that the good old Governor had no idea of risking a war of races and religions for the sake of carrying a point by force which he no doubt felt could ultimately have been arranged in a more peaceable manner, had not Mr. McDougall's actions prevented it afterwards. But Mr. McDougall, true to his colours, thought proper to consult other parties besides Governor MacTavish; and, what is worse, he believed them in preference to him. Those individuals, so freely consulted, endeavoured to show that

the Hudson's Bay Company were hand and glove with the insurgents, and therefore unwilling to act against them. We will give a few examples of the information derived by Mr. McDougall from those he term loyal parties in the Settlement, and which, no doubt, influenced him in the rash conduct of which he was afterwards guilty :—

"From Friends of Canada (???)—

"The Hudson's Bay Company are evidently with the rebels, and their present *rôle* is to prevent your having any official intercourse with them." (From same letter) "Our opinion is that the Proclamation should be forwarded by the bearer, and we will see it placarded here."

The following is said to be from Mr. Snow :—

"Council in deliberation to-day on yours. Received all right. Decision not known. Saddle will fall on right horse. 'Call' made on the different parishes, by manifesto of Riel, who seized 'Nor'-Wester' office, and by force used the press. English and Scotch parishes will not respond. Issue Proclamation, and then you may come fearlessly down. Hudson's Bay Company evidently shaking. By no means leave Pembina."

The following is said to be from Charles Mair :—

"The Company beyond all question are deeply concerned in the matter. Half-breeds themselves declare that they have received assistance. Insurgents in *quasi* possession of Fort Garry, receive their supplies there. Yours received all right. Council in deliberation to-day. On no account leave. The English have not risen because they have not been called upon by the authorities, other-

wise *they would have risen. Issue your Proclamation and it will be responded to by* 500 *men.*"

The latter is a queer contradiction of the statement made by Col. Dennis a short time before, that 50 men could not be found to support Mr. McDougall. The fact is Mr. Mair, as usual, exaggerated the state of affairs, and, instead of 50, wrote 500. The foregoing extracts will give our readers some idea of the information and advice sought after by Mr. McDougall, and to which he, unfortunately for himself, gave too much credence. The "Friends of Canada," in a communication to Col. Dennis, dated 12th November, state as follows:—

"We will have a strong protest in to the authorities here at once against their inaction *and embodying the suggestions* MADE IN THE LETTER." Is it possible that either Col. Dennis or Mr. McDougall made any suggestions to be put in this roundabout way to Governor MacTavish? If so, one feature in the case was adhered to strictly by those who were prompted to get it up, namely, the roundabout principle; for the address to Governor MacTavish was signed by the "Friends of Canada" in the shape of a "round robin"—no one in the party appearing desirous of taking the initiative in signing the document. The address, however, as follows, signed in the way above described, was sent in to Governor MacTavish. It may be as well to give it in the sensational shape, in which it was first presented to the eyes of the Red River public, in the form of an extra issued from the office of the "Nor'-Wester" newspaper, viz.:—

"THE NOR'-WESTER AND PIONEER

"*Extra.*

"Winnipeg, Wednesday, November 17th, 1869.

"THE CRISIS.

"LOYALTY TRIUMPHANT.

"THE GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION.

"On the 12th instant the following address was presented to Governor MacTavish, signed by a large number of our most respectable inhabitants; and on the 17th a reply was issued, which will be found below :—

"Town of Winnipeg,
"November 12th, 1869.

"To William MacTavish, Esq.,
"Governor Hudson's Bay Company,
"Fort Garry.

"We, the undersigned residents of the Town of Winnipeg, and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland,—Beholding with great alarm the unsettled state of feeling existing in this Territory and the threatening position assumed by a portion of its French-speaking population towards the Crown, in the person of Her Majesty's representative, the future Governor of this Territory, and believing as we do that this

disaffection or dissatisfaction is the result of various slanderous interpretations having been from time to time disseminated among the people by persons unknown; We do therefore now demand that you, as the representative of Her Majesty in this Territory, do proclaim among the people, either by convening a public meeting for that purpose, or posting in conspicuous places throughout the country, a full and correct exposition of the nature of the transfer of this Territory to the Dominion of Canada. We also request that you will explain, as far as lies in your power, the policy likely to be adopted by the Canadian authorities relative to the governing of the Territory; also, that you deny the numerous libellous slanders which are in circulation regarding the purposes for which the Territory was acquired. That you warn them of the danger they are incurring to themselves by persistence in their present violent course, thereby imperiling the future welfare of the country; and that you do entreat them to lay down their arms and return peaceably to their homes.

"Here is the Proclamation drawn from Governor MacTavish on the present state of affairs:"—

Then followed an imperfect copy of the Proclamation, the fifth clause contained therein having being left out altogether in the "Nor-Wester" Extra. We will have occasion further on to give the Proclamation in its correct form, and will, therefore, proceed to discuss the facts concerning the above address.

In the first place, it can be proved, that Governor MacTavish's Proclamation was already in the hands of

his secretary, Mr. Hargrave, when the address from the "Friends of Canada" reached its destination. The statement, therefore, that the Proclamation was drawn from Governor MacTavish by the "round robin" address of the "Friends of Canada," is as false as it is ridiculous. It was really amusing to see the little editor of the "Nor'-Wester" hopping about from door to door on the evening of the 17th November, distributing the "extras" with his own hands. There, he roared, as he pitched in a few copies of his "Loyalty Triumphant" at one door, "*See what we have done;*" and at the next house, "*We'll show you now, what we can do,*" and so on, in the same strain, from door to door. People smiled, and wondered if it was possible that there were many amongst the incoming Canadians like the little man who was then making such a fuss about nothing. Let us see now the view taken by Governor MacTavish, with regard to the propriety of issuing a Proclamation such as Mr. McDougall seemed so anxious to have produced. In his letter of the 9th of November to Mr. McDougall, he says :—

"It appears you are under the belief that a Proclamation from this Government, explaining the late Imperial Act regarding the Territory, and warning the people of the consequences of steps tending to impede any action that might be taken under its provisions, would have a salutary effect in checking the present unlawful movement on the part of the French population. It is difficult, if not impossible, to say with any degree of certainty, how far that measure might have produced such a result; but if due consideration be given to the peculiar circum-

stances in which the local authorities here stood, there will, perhaps, appear to be but little ground for surprise at a measure of that kind not having been adopted. The Act in question referred to the *prospective* transfer of the Territory; *but up to this moment we have no official intimation, from England or the Dominion of Canada, of the fact of the transfer, or of its conditions, or of the date at which they were to take practical effect upon the Government of this country.* In such a state of matters, we think it is evident that any such act on the part of the Red River authorities, as that to which you point, would necessarily have been marked by a great degree of vagueness and uncertainty. It was felt that it might affect injuriously the future as well as the present Government; and we deemed it advisable to await the receipt of official intelligence of the actual transfer of the country and of all the details which it concerned us to know. But having every reason to believe from semi-official sources of information, that the transfer of the Territory would soon take place, I have not failed to take every proper opportunity of putting the matter before the public in that light; and, although, we have not seen the expediency of issuing any such Proclamation as that suggested, yet, we have been incessant in our efforts to impress upon the leaders of these disaffected people, a just sense of the illegality and danger of the course upon which they had entered, and to dissuade them from the further prosecution of their unlawful purposes."

Governor MacTavish shortly after this, thought proper to prepare a Proclamation which we will give hereafter,

and, although the tenor of it is not as Mr. McDougall appeared to desire, it seemed to satisfy that gentleman, as we find from the following extract from a letter written by him on the 20th November, to Hon. Joseph Howe :—

"I have not yet made any reply to the lengthy and somewhat extraordinary communication which the representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Garry have thought themselves called upon to address to me, nor have I made any arrangement with a view to the 'movement' (the propriety of Mr. McDougall's returning to Canada) which they recommended in its concluding paragraph. As the main object of my correspondence with them has been accomplished, to wit, the issue of a '*Proclamation*' against the insurgents, I shall await for a few days the effect of this proceeding before determining upon the course of action which I ought to adopt myself or recommend to others."

Mr. McDougall's "mania," at that particular period of his life, seemed to have been "Proclamations." His friends in Red River appeared to be also troubled with the same complaint, for they on the one hand were incessantly urging upon Mr. McDougall the necessity for a "Queen's Proclamation," while he in return kept asking for a "Hudson's Bay Company Proclamation." After events will show that they both got their desire. Governor MacTavish, to prove that he was desirous of meeting the wishes of Mr. McDougall, and being aware of the Convention about to take place on the 16th, prepared his "Proclamation," which he entrusted to his secretary, Mr. Hargrave, to have it read before the delegates from the

people, when they should meet together as proposed. The "round robin" address, however, came in too late, for the document which it desired had already been prepared, and Governor McTavish replied by letter to the "Friends of Canada," a fact, however, which the editor of the "Nor'-Wester" did not see fit to make public.

During the morning of the 16th November, 1869, there might have been seen about 150 armed men around the Court House, adjoining Fort Garry. Those were stationed there by order of Riel to receive the delegates from the people, and about noon the 24 members made their appearance; and, as they entered the building, a *feu-de-joie* was fired by the French half-breeds, and 24 guns were fired from the walls of the Fort, there being one for each delegate.

Notwithstanding the assurance to the contrary of Mr. Snow and others to Mr. McDougall, each parish in the Settlement sent a representative, as follows :—

ENGLISH MEMBERS.

Town of Winnipeg	Henry McKenney, H. F. O'Lone.
Kildonan	James Ross.
St. John's	Maurice Lowman.
St. Paul's	Dr. Bird.
St. Andrew's	Donald Gunn.
St. Clement's	Thomas Bunn.
St. Peter's	Henry Prince (Indian Chief of the Saulteux).
St. James'	Robert Tait.

Headingly	William Tait.
St. Ann's	Geo. Gunn.
Portage-la-Prairie	John Garrioch.

FRENCH MEMBERS.

St. François Xavier	François Dauphinais. Pierre Poitras. Pierre Lavieller.
St. Boniface	W. B. O'Donohue.
St. Vital	Andrè Beaucheman. Pierre Paranteau, sen'r.
St. Norbert	Louis La Serte. Baptiste Touron.
St. Ann's	Charles Nolin. Jean Baptiste Perrault.

JOHN BRUCE, *President.*
LOUIS RIEL, *Secretary.*

At the opening of the meeting, Mr. J. J. Hargrave, Secretary to Governor MacTavish, presented a letter (the Proclamation) to Mr. Henry McKenney, with the request that he should read it before the members present. The French delegates, however, opposed the reading of the document, while the English members insisted upon hearing it. This brought about a feeling of antagonism between the two sides, which continued throughout until the end of the Convention. A compromise, however, was at last effected in reference to Governor MacTavish's letter, and it was agreed to by all parties that it should be read towards the close of the meeting. This being deter-

mined upon, the council of delegates proceeded to business. There, however, seemed to be no union between the two sides; the English-speaking members were not prepared to go in with those on the French side until they knew their real intentions. On the other hand, there appeared to be an evident desire on the part of Riel to conceal the policy of his party from the English-speaking members. In this way there seemed no chance of the two sides agreeing, and at last the Convention adjourned till the next day; but before doing so, Mr. McKenney read aloud the following Proclamation from Governor MacTavish to the Inhabitants of Red River Settlement:—

"Whereas I, William MacTavish, Governor of Assiniboia, have been informed that a meeting is to be held to-day of persons from the different districts of the Settlement for the ostensible purpose of taking into consideration the present political condition of the Colony and for suggesting such measures as may appear to be best adapted for meeting the difficulties and dangers connected with the existing state of public affairs: And whereas I deem it advisable at this conjuncture to place before that meeting, as well as before the whole body of the people, what it appears to be necessary for me to declare in the interests of public order and of the safety and welfare of the Settlement—

"Therefore I notify all whom it concerns that during the last few weeks large bodies of armed men have taken up positions on the public high road to Pembina, and, contrary to the remonstrances and protests of the public authorities, have committed the following unlawful acts:

First, they have forcibly obstructed the movements of various persons travelling on the public highway in the peaceable prosecution of their lawful business, and have thus violated that personal liberty which is the undoubted right of all Her Majesty's subjects: Secondly, they have unlawfully seized and detained on the road at La Rivière Sale, in the Parish of St. Norbert, goods and merchandise of various descriptions, and of very considerable value, belonging as well to persons coming into the Colony as to citizens already settled here and carrying on their business in the Settlement, thereby causing great loss and inconvenience not only to the owners of those goods, but, as has formally been complained of, also to the carriers of the same and possibly involving the whole Colony in a ruinous responsibility: Thirdly, they have unlawfully interfered with the public mails, both outgoing and incoming; and, by thus tampering with the established means of communication between the Settlement and the outside world, have shaken public confidence in the security of the mails and given a shock to the trade and commerce of the Colony of which the mischievous effects cannot now be fully estimated: Fourthly, not only without permission, but in the face of repeated remonstrances on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company's officer in immediate charge of Fort Garry, they have in numbers varying from about sixty to one hundred and twenty, billeted themselves upon that establishment, under the plea of protecting it from a danger which they alleged was known by themselves to be imminent, but of which they have never yet disclosed the particular na-

ture; they have placed armed guards at the gates of an establishment which, every stick and stone of it, is private property; in spite of the most distinct protestations against such a disregard of the rights of property, they have taken possession of rooms within the Fort; and, although they have there as yet committed no direct act of violence to person or property, beyond what has been enumerated, yet by their presence in such numbers with arms for no legitimate purpose that can be assigned, they have created a state of excitement and alarm within and around the Fort which seriously interferes with the regular business of the establishment: Fifthly, a body of armed men have entered the Hudson's Bay Company's Post at Pembina, where certain gentlemen from Canada with their families were peaceably living; and, under threats of violence, have compelled them to quit the establishment at a season of the year when the rigors of winter were at hand and forced them to retire within American territory;—and, in the last place, they have avowed it as their intention, in all those unlawful proceedings, to resist arrangements for the transfer of the Government of this country which have been made under the sanction of the Imperial Parliament, and thus virtually set at defiance the Royal authority. Instead of adopting those lawful and constitutional means which, under the enlightened rule of Her Most Gracious Majesty our Queen, are sufficient for the ultimate attainment of every object that rests upon reason and justice, the persons who have been engaged in committing those unlawful deeds have resorted to acts which directly tend to involve

themselves in consequences of the gravest nature, and to bring upon the Colony and the country at large the evils of anarchy and the horrors of war; Therefore, in the interests of law and order, in behalf of all the securities you have for life and property—and, in a word, for the sake of the present and the future welfare of the Settlement and its inhabitants, I again earnestly and emphatically protest against each and all of these unlawful acts and intents. I charge those engaged in them, before they are irretrievably and hopelessly involved, immediately to disperse themselves and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business, under the pains and penalties of the law; and, whatever in other respects may be the conclusions of those who meet to deliberate upon the present critical and distracted state of public affairs, I adjure you, as citizens having the interests of your country and your kindred at heart, to ratify and proclaim, with all the might of your united voices, this public notice and protest, and so avert from the country a succession of evils of which those who see the beginning may never see the end. You are dealing with a crisis out of which may come incalculable good or immeasurable evil; and, with all the weight of my official authority and all the influence of my individual position, let me finally charge you to adopt only such means as are lawful and constitutional, rational and safe.

"Given under my hand and seal at Fort Garry, this sixteenth day of November, 1869.

"W. MacTavish,

"*Governor of Assiniboia.*"

A copy of the above was sent by Governor MacTavish to the office of the "Red River Pioneer" newspaper the same evening for publication; but, in the morning, before Mr. Coldwell, the proprietor, could get off his proof-sheet, the "Nor'-Wester," having by some means* obtained an imperfect copy of the document, brought out the sensational "Extra" to which we have already referred. That afternoon, however, Mr. Coldwell issued the "Proclamation" in perfect form, and it was distributed largely amongst the people. We will defer our remarks on the effect produced by the "Proclamation" until we have dealt with some minor matters which ought not to be overlooked.

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* The means used by the "Nor'-Wester" to obtain possession of a copy of Governor MacTavish's Proclamation, were as follows:—Mr. Charles Garrett, happening to be standing near when Mr. Coldwell, sen'r, of the "Pioneer" office, was striking off the proof-sheet, seized it and, without warning, carried it off to the "Nor'-Wester" printing house. The proof, however, was imperfect, and hence the reason why the "Nor'-Wester" Extra left out the fifth clause of the Proclamation. Sharp but not very honest practice.

CHAPTER III.

DELIBERATIONS OF THE CONVENTION — DIVERSITY OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH DELEGATES — SCOTT FINED FOR AN ASSAULT ON MR. SNOW — MAJOR WALLACE ACTING THE SPY — PUBLIC MEETING, ETC.

AMONGST the trustworthy information received by *Governor* McDougall, while at Pembina, we find the following in a letter dated 17th November:—

"*Late in the afternoon of yesterday,* the MS. of Governor MacTavish's *Proclamation was handed in* to the Assembly, and much discussion as to the propriety of doing so preceded its reading."

The fact is, that the document in question was handed in by Mr. Hargrave between twelve and one o'clock, or about half an hour after the Assembly met. Some idea, therefore, can be formed of the reliability of Mr. McDougall's information. The same letter goes on to say:—

"We have no faith in the sincerity of that Proclamation, but believe that the pressure brought to bear upon them HERE *by the loyal party* was such that they could no longer resist, and their own conviction of the utter helplessness and impossibility of further resistance compelled them to issue it as much for their own safety as for the continuance of their authority, if any portion remains."

Hon. Mr. McDougall then makes the following rather remarkable statement in his letter of 20th November to Hon. Joseph Howe :—

"The confirmed belief of every person I have seen or whose testimony has reached me (*whether in the confidence of the rebels*—likely story—or friendly to Canada) is, that the Hudson's Bay Company's employees, with scarcely an exception, are either actively or tacitly encouraging the insurrection. It was the prevalence of this belief that determined *me to force* the authorities into a public declaration of some kind that would dispel this illusion—if such it should prove to be—or compel them to show their hand as abettors of the insurrection. The 'appeal' of the loyal inhabitants, *who had previously opened correspondence with me,* WAS THE LAST SCREW APPLIED, and seems to have accomplished the purpose notwithstanding the 'peculiar circumstances' so strongly insisted upon in the enclosed letter to show that the issue of such a Proclamation 'might affect injuriously the future as well as the present Government.' I feel also bound to state with reference to the 'serious occurrence' detailed in the 10th and 11th paragraphs of Governor MacTavish's letter that I have the positive assurance of Major Wallace, who has just returned from Fort Garry, as well as the statements of the 'Friends of Canada,' that the Company's officers in charge of Fort Garry were told of the intention of the rebels to take the Fort the day before it occurred, and that the chief constable Mulligan, who is an old soldier, offered to raise a force, partly composed of 'pensioners,' with which he declared he could

hold the Fort against all the rebels who would be likely to attack it; but he was told by Dr. Cowan, the officer in charge, that his services were not wanted."

Now, in the above, Mr. McDougall makes two very direct misstatements—one knowingly, and the other, it appears, on the strength of the reliable information derived by him from his friends in Red River. In the first he says that "he forced the authorities into a public demonstration," whereas his own letters to Governor MacTavish show that he merely suggested and desired the issue of a Proclamation, and immediately afterwards he declares that in this forcing process the "appeal" of the (round robin) loyal inhabitants was the last screw applied. In this latter statement he plainly admits that he was a party to the roundabout method of drawing out the Proclamation. But as we have already shown the "appeal" had nothing to do with the matter since it did not reach Governor MacTavish until after the Proclamation had been determined upon by him, and, indeed, prepared with the assistance of the then legal adviser of the Hudson's Bay Company Government.

Mr. McDougall, in his letter of 25th November to Hon. Joseph Howe, states:—

"I have received a private note from Governor MacTavish informing me of his having issued a Proclamation, more, he observes, *in deference to my opinion* than from any expectation of a favorable result."

This, indeed, was the fact of the case; both Governor MacTavish and Judge Black saw no benefit likely to result from the course desired by Mr. McDougall, but, on

being importuned by him, they decided upon meeting his wishes, and, knowing that there was to be a meeting of delegates from all parts of the Settlement on the 10th of the month, they deemed it best to issue it on that day, first presenting it to the representatives of the people for their consideration before making it public. The second misstatement made by Mr. McDougall, through malinformation no doubt, was in regard to Constable Mulligan. In the first place it was not till after the Fort was in possession of the insurgents that Mulligan and Sergeant Powers made their appearance and expressed a desire to raise the British flag and protect it. On being asked how they proposed accomplishing the latter part of their offer, one of the two men answered :—"All it requires is one man to hoist it, and another below to protect it."

We have no desire to ridicule a sentiment like the above. Both were old and tried soldiers of Her Majesty, and, undoubtedly, felt a just pride in the flag under which they had fought and bled; and, we have no hesitation in saying, that it is our belief, had either of the two men above mentioned been called upon, they would have acted as they spoke, and unhesitatingly sacrificed their lives in doing so. But, at the time of their offer, the Fort was in possession of over one hundred men or more. What then could two persons have done under those circumstances? Nothing; and for that reason their services were not accepted. The "friends of Canada" and Mr. McDougall have endeavoured to show that Mulligan, being aware of the intentions of the insurgents to take the Fort, offered to protect it. This was not the case, for neither Mulligan

nor anyone else, except the insurgents themselves, had any idea that Riel intended taking the Fort in the way he did. It has also been ascertained that it was not until the last moment that Riel was able to obtain the concurrence of his council in the step to be taken. At that time there was no desire on the part of the French to disturb the then existing authority in the country; their sole purpose seemed to be the prevention of Mr. McDougall from entering the Territory. Riel, therefore, had great difficulty in persuading the council at Rivière Sale to agree to the occupation of Fort Garry by the men; and it was not until the last moment that he succeeded in doing so. How then could Mulligan have known the day before that the Fort was about to be taken, when, probably, Riel himself was not sure of it. We will, however, proceed with other details, and may mention a strange case, showing that Mr. McDougall was very apt to misjudge those who, in reality, had a friendly feeling towards him. In his letter of November 5th to Mr. Howe, he says:—

"The furniture, &c., for Government House having arrived at Pembina from St. Cloud, the person who had undertaken to deliver it at Fort Garry called upon me to know if he was to proceed with his freight, suggesting that it might be stopped on the way, and, perhaps, destroyed. I told him, as he had bargained to deliver it at Fort Garry, he must complete his contract. I had reason to believe that he was aware of the designs and movements of the insurgents, and was in their confidence, if not in their plot. He proposed to buy some of the pro-

perty in his charge, the stores especially, in order to save it from destruction. I declined his proposal, with the remark that the rebels might as well destroy the stores as anything else ; but I would hold him responsible in the first place for their safe delivery at Fort Garry ; *and I thought the farms and cattle of the half-breed settlers* would ultimately be found sufficient to pay any damages they might inflict on public or private property."

It is really laughable to read the above, when it is known that the very person referred to by Mr. McDougall was, and continued to be, one of his staunch supporters in the Settlement. The store proposition, was no doubt made in good faith, and it is rather amusing to read of Mr. McDougall consoling himself that he had not been frightened by a friendly inhabitant into selling Government property at a nominal price. The furniture, &c. was afterwards stopped at Rivière Sale and taken possession of by Riel and his men.

On the 17th November, the delegates from the several parishes again met. Ten o'clock in the morning having been the hour appointed for their meeting, the English-speaking members were punctual, but it was nearly noon when the French made their appearance. The whole time was spent in "doing nothing;" the only change observable from the previous day being an apparent better feeling on the part of the two sides towards each other—still, no definite result was arrived at. The French adhered to their seeming desire to conceal their policy from the other party, and the English would not commit themselves until they could see their way

clear; in fact, the hands of the latter were in a great measure tied, as they had received certain instructions from their several parishes, beyond which they could not go. It was late in the evening when the council broke up, and, as the 18th was the day appointed for the sitting of the General Quarterly Court, the meeting adjourned till Monday, the 22nd instant. The general feeling amongst the English delegates when they separated on the evening of the 17th was, that they would be unable to come to any agreement with the French side. Henry Prince (Chief of the Saulteux) expressed very great dissatisfaction at his having been prevented from speaking in the Indian language on the previous day (16th), and was with difficulty prevailed upon to go to the second meeting; he also complained of the firing of big guns by the French, and small arms by the guard at the door of the council room. "When we hold a council of peace," he said, "we go without guns in our hands." There is no doubt that the presence of a number of armed men, standing on guard at the door of the council room produced a feeling of suspicion on the part of the English delegates, and prevented that openness in discussion so necessary at the time. The effect of Governor MacTavish's Proclamation being presented to the council, and the warm debate which followed with regard to its being read at all, caused a feeling of antagonism from the outset between the two parties. Had no Proclamation been issued there is a great probability that some agreement would have been arrived at between the French and English, to treat with the Canadian Government, either through Mr. McDougall

or direct; but as it was, neither side would give way, and the consequence was, the whole proceedings were unsatisfactory, and productive of no good. Riel, certainly appears to have been anxious for the co-operation of the English Settlement in the movement, but he did not take the right way to secure it. Had he openly, and frankly, declared his intentions, there is every reason to expect, that he would have met with a response from the opposite party—had it been seen that he was working for the common benefit of the Settlement. There was little interest then felt throughout regarding the incoming Government, for it was generally felt, that the people of the country had not been sufficiently acknowledged in the matter. The great fault, however, with the English side was, that they did not seem to take any steps to protest against the injustice; but tacitly appeared to concur in it, although, within their hearts, they were dissatisfied. Riel, before any rising took place, went about visiting the English settlers, asking them to take some united steps in company with the French, to protest against the policy proposed by the Canadian Government. There was nothing illegal nor wrong in this; but he met with no encouragement from the English settlers, "one was too busy about his farm;" another thought "no good would come out of it; they had petitioned before and never had been heard by the Imperial Government:" and so on, until there is no doubt Riel, in consequence, adopted the different and unwise course of trying to force the English-speaking inbabitants into his views, thereby

sowing the seeds of disunion and bad feeling which may take years to eradicate.

The last General Quarterly Court under the Hudson's Bay Company's Government sat on the 18th and 19th November, 1869—Judge Black presiding. One of the principal cases before the bench was that of Mr. Snow, Government Road Superintendent, *vs.* his working men.

Governor MacTavish, in a letter dated 12th October, 1869, to W. G. Smith, Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, London, England, says :—

"I am sorry to say that Mr. Snow, the Superintendent on the Canadian road to the Lake of the Woods, has had a serious disturbance with the people employed on the road, the most of whom are, however, strangers in the Settlement. The men complain bitterly of their treatment; but are, no doubt, in the wrong, as they used considerable violence in dragging Mr. Snow to a creek, into which they threatened to throw him, if he did not pay them some few days' wages which they claimed, but which Mr. Snow considered not to be due them. The sum in question he eventually paid them under protest. Mr. Snow laid a charge of robbery against the men, but the magistrates did not consider that the facts justified such a charge, and committed the men for trial at the November Quarterly Court for assault."

The reason given by Mr. Snow, for not having paid the men their full wages, was on account of a strike they had previously made; and he, therefore, held that he had no right to pay them for the time during which they refused

to work. On the other hand, the men complained that Mr. Snow had been making money out of them in furnishing their supplies; and, therefore, that he had thereby taken an unfair advantage of them. At last they took the law in their own hands, and seizing Mr. Snow they threatened to throw him into an adjoining creek if he did not pay them their wages. The Superintendent thereupon, acting upon the advice of his assistant, Mr. Hamilton, agreed to their demands. Immediately afterwards, however, he had the ringleaders arrested and held for trial. The men had a good case against Mr. Snow; but it was badly managed through the inexperience of their counsel (one Coombs), and the result was that two of those against whom Snow brought his case were fined four pounds sterling each, and the Judge allowed them thirty days to pay the amount—Combs, their counsel, going their security. One of the two men thus fined (Scott, who was afterwards shot) stated, as he left the Court room, that it was a pity they had not ducked Snow, for then they would have got their money's worth.

We have already referred to some of Mr. Snow's operations with the half-breeds who worked under him; and here we find him in trouble again with his own countrymen. Surely something must have been wrong; and by the way we understand that the Government price allowed for labor on public roads is eighteen dollars per month to each man. Mr. Snow paid the starving half-breeds (although he acknowledged them to be as good workers as ever he had under him) *only fifteen dollars.* What became of the three? query. Surely the Canadian Gov-

ernment had no hand in beating down a starving people in the price of labour.

On the 19th November, Major Wallace was about starting from the town of Winnipeg to rejoin his master at Pembina, who had sent him "to spy out the land," when the French seized two rifles and a shot gun from him, saying that he was at liberty to leave the country, if he wished; but without arms.

Mr. McDougall, in his despatch of 5th November to Hon. Joseph Howe, says:—

"I have entrusted to one of my party (who got into the confidence of Stutzman, both being members of the same secret society, and obtained a pass from him) two communications addressed to Governor MacTavish, copies of which I enclose herewith, marked F and G. A slight disagreement with this person on the journey, which caused some talk in our party, had reached Stutsman's ear, and made him the more ready to take this man into his confidence."

Then again, on the 25th November, he writes again to Mr. Howe:—

"I have the honor to forward a confidential report by Major J. Wallace, of Whitby, Ontario, who was sent from this place on 4th November, on a special mission to Fort Garry, and who returned on the 22nd instant. He is the person mentioned in my report of the 5th instant as being in the confidence of some of the conspirators here—so far as to obtain a "pass" from them. Major Wallace was employed by Colonel Dennis in his surveying operations last summer. He is a shrewd Scotchman; has been many

years a resident of Canada ; and, though a little hot tempered, may be regarded as a trustworthy reporter of what he saw and heard."

Major Wallace arrived at Fort Garry in due course, and immediately went to work ingratiating himself with all parties ; and no doubt thought that, by a course of scandalous abuse directed against Mr. McDougall, he would gain the good opinion of those whose confidence he sought; but he made a very great mistake, for although there was not certainly any great amount of good feeling for the would-be Governor, yet no one was prepared to acquiesce in the foul language which Major Wallace, in his capacity as spy, thought proper to use in connection with his master. He sought the society of men in the Settlement, and became a guest in their houses. He received their hospitalities ; accepted their kindnesses ; and for what reason?—that he might be able to pick up scraps of intelligence to retail to his master at Pembina. What an enviable character forsooth! It is notorious that Major Wallace came to the Settlement, and sought by every means to place Mr. McDougall in the worst position possible. He called him overbearing and proud ; vain of his position ; and ready to assert his superiority over the people of the country ; besides other abuse unmentionable here. He either followed this course to save himself, at the sacrifice of his master's reputation, from detection as an emissary of Hon. Mr. McDougall, or else he did it under the supposition that he could by that means draw out or lead people to speak against his master, and thus furnish him with a budget of news which Mr. McDougall,

unfortunately for himself, seemed too ready to grasp at. It is unnecessary to give quotations from the report prepared by Major Wallace. It is sufficient to know that a man, who could thus pursue such a course of deceit as he did during his short stay in Red River, is altogether unworthy of confidence or esteem, and any statements made by such an individual are totally unreliable. Major Wallace left the day after the French took his gun and rifles; and we are very sure that the account of his proceedings, whilst in the Settlement, is not such as to raise him in the estimation of good honest Canadians.

A guard was now kept by Riel in the town of Winnipeg, day and night, patrolling the streets. This was done for the ostensible purpose of guarding the property of the towns-people, but there is no doubt that Riel had another object in view at the same time—namely, a watch over the Schultz, Snow, Mair & Co., party who were known to be holding meetings and devising measures for bringing in Mr. McDougall, in opposition to the French. A great deal of discussion was being carried on in the streets—by the roadside—in the stores and in the private houses—and the general feeling on the English side was that the Hudson's Bay Company, being still the Government of the country, the people had no right to overthrow it. Riel, on the other hand, contended that as the Hudson's Bay Company had sold out their right to the country (the bargain in his eyes being a complete one as soon as it was accepted on all sides by the Imperial, Canadian, and Hudson's Bay Governments), they then ceased to be the governing power of the North-West, and consequently

it rested with the people to look after their own interests in the interim between that time and the actual transfer of the country. This view of the matter no doubt influenced the French in the course they afterwards adopted towards the Company; and it was this point upon which the French and English could not agree. The latter felt that they had not been fairly dealt by in the proposed policy of the incoming Government, but they were not for that reason prepared to upset the existing one—they were rather inclined to allow the Canadian Government to come in, and then in a constitutional manner assert their rights and seek redress for any wrongs imposed upon them. The French, however, believed that, were Mr. McDougall and his party once allowed to enter and assume the reins of Government, he would, from his known connexion with parties in the Settlement who had already attempted the "lording over" process, be very likely to place those same persons in power; and the result would be that the people of the country would then be in their power, and the chance lost for placing the settlers in their proper position as free thinking, free acting British subjects. It will therefore be seen by our readers how entirely different were the two elements of which the Convention of delegates was composed; and, for this reason, the meeting on the 22nd was looked forward to with interest by all parties. Another element, however, sought to, and did, interfere with the council—and this was the so-called "Friends of Canada" party. In one of their despatches to Mr. McDougall, dated 17th November, they

say—"Can we inspire delegates in regard to what is possible?—reply by bearer." It was well known that the partizans of Mr. McDougall were tampering with several of the English delegates, and it was also well known that Dr. John Schultz was at the head and bottom of it all—a man who had been chief amongst those who had staked out the country in claims—who had been interested with Snow and Mair in their unjust proceedings—who had vaunted that half-breeds would have to fly before the face of civilized Canadians—who had defied the laws of the country from time to time—and who it was reported had such influence with the Canadian Government that his friends would be well provided for—the same man who hoisted or caused to be hoisted the flag which caused so much injury to the cause of Canada—the one who, it was said, had already been promised the Shrievalty under the incoming Government. When it was known, therefore, that the party headed by this man were tampering with the English delegates, it put the French "upon their mettle" and made it much more difficult for the two sides to come to any agreement.

It is curious, at this stage, to look back on an advertisement that appeared in the "Nor'-Wester" (Schultz's organ) of July 24th, 1869, as follows:—

"NOTICE.

"We hereby give notice that a meeting will be held at the Court House, at Fort Garry, to consider the affairs of

the Settlement, on Thursday next, 29th inst., when we hope all the natives will be present.

"WILLIAM DEASE,
"PASCAL BRELAND,
"JOSEPH GENTON,
"WILLIAM HALLET."

And in the same paper, which contained the above advertisement, the following significant paragraph appears in an editorial :—

"The question is, 'To whom does the unoccupied land of the Colony belong?'" Then followed a long argument, the substance of which was that the rightful owners were the Indians. The next issue of the "Nor'-Wester" contained, as we will show, an erroneous report of the proceedings at the meeting. We give the report as it appeared in print :—

"THE PUBLIC MEETING.

"Pursuant to a notice, signed by Messrs. William Dease, Pascal Breland, Joseph Genton, and William Hallet, and published in the 'Nor'-Wester,' a meeting of the natives of the country was held in the Court House, on Thursday the 29th ult. The room was filled to overflowing ; and a large number had to be content with learning so much of the proceedings as could be gleaned through the open doors and windows. At about two o'clock, the gentlemen signing the notice took seats on the Bench, being accompanied by Mr. Bannatyne. Mr. Dease stated that the object of their assembling there to-day was to consider

the recent transfer of the country by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Canadian Government, and to call in question the right of the Company to dispose of any territorial claims without the consent of the natives of the country. The Company had received £300,000 for the country; and they were to consider whether this belonged to the Company or to the natives. He stated that, so far as regards this Settlement of Red River, the Hudson's Bay Company had bought it from Lord Selkirk, who had power from the English Government to barter with the Indians for it. But Lord Selkirk did not buy the Settlement—he merely borrowed it for a term of years from the Indians, paying them an annuity for it while he occupied it. Mr. Dease further contended that it was necessary for the Company, before selling their rights, to have the consent of the half-breeds, as they were natives of the soil and were descended from the original possessors, and had families to provide for. The half-breeds wanted proof of the rights of the Company to sell the country.

"Mr. Hallet, being requested to address the meeting, stated that they had merely to consider whether the lands belonged to the Company or to the half-breeds and Indians. The consideration of the question he would leave to the meeting. On suggestion of Mr. Dease, it was agreed that Governor MacTavish should be requested to attend the meeting in order to explain the action of the Company. On the arrival of Mr. MacTavish, he was asked in substance the questions contained in Mr. Dease's speech. The Governor replied that the Company had

received from the English Government a charter of the country, and that the late sale embraced only the rights contained in that charter, whatever they were. Mr. Dease quoted from the report of the Canadian delegates to England to the effect that the territorial rights of the country had been disposed of. The Governor stated that it was not true; he further stated that this Settlement had been bought from Lord Selkirk, who had bought it from the Indians.

"Chief Pa-bat-or-kok-or-sis was requested to explain what he knew of this purchase by Lord Selkirk. Replying through an interpreter, he stated that the land was not sold, but leased for a number of years. Governor MacTavish asked him why the Company now paid him an annual gratuity? The Chief replied that this was for work in procuring furs; and that the land was only sold for 22 years.

"An Indian stated that, when a boy, his grandfather told him that the land was not sold but only lent to Lord Selkirk to trade in for a period of 21 or 22 years; and his grandfather requested him to state this, in case of dispute. Mr. Hallet mentioned that he had information to the same effect from chiefs whom he knew in his younger days. The Governor having retired, it was understood that no further proceedings should take place until the arrival of the Canadian Government."

Now, what was the real object of that meeting? First,—To endeavour to quash the payment of £300,000 to the Company and place it in the pockets of the natives. Secondly,—It was proposed at that meeting *(which Dr.*

Bown, the editor, saw fit to conceal) that the half-breeds should seize upon the public funds of the Settlement and then set up an independent government of their own to treat with Canada *or any other country.* Thirdly,—It was brought about by the very men who then, and afterwards, staked out large tracts of country in the Settlement, thinking that their claims would hold good by the payment of a nominal sum to liquidate the right of the settlers or Indians—as they termed them—to the land. This movement was suggested and urged by the very men who have since termed themselves the "loyal party" of the Settlement. Mr. Wm. Dease, afterwards known as the "loyal French half-breed," was the prime mover in the concern, although he was prompted by others to do it. He thought to increase his own popularity thereby, but he unfortunately took too rash a measure to gain his point. The people were not willing to go into the wholesale robbery proposed; neither were they prepared to upset in such a peremptory manner the only Government then in the country; and Mr. Dease (a magistrate, forsooth) found that he had lost the confidence of his own people, — we may say he has never since regained it completely. We mention the above as a curious incident in connexion with the troubles which afterwards followed. The "Nor'-Wester" endeavoured, by that meeting, to show to the world that the people of the country were then agitated by the land question against the Hudson's Bay Company; but the people gave the lie to it by not countenancing the meeting at all. Pascal Breland, one of the finest French half-breeds in the country—an old man

of known integrity—declared that he had never given his signature to the notice that appeared in the "Nor'-Wester." The fact was that the fears of the people were raised entirely by the large tracts of land claimed by Dr. John Schultz and others, many of whom were entire strangers in the country; and it was feared that the natives in that way were not going to have fair play in the future. We will now, however, proceed with the subject with which we have to deal more directly at present.

A petition was handed round for signature by Dr. Bown, on the morning of the 22nd, the principal object of which was the upsetting of Mr. H. McKenney* and H. F. O'Lone, as delegates for the town of Winnipeg. On its being presented to Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, he refused to sign it, and afterwards wrote the following letter which he sent to the council of delegates, to be read aloud before them. It was, however, suppressed at the council, and as it has some bearing on the questions involved at the time, we give it below :—

"A petition, written apparently by Dr. Schultz, signed principally by a number of strangers, and others, in the Settlement, and headed by James Stewart, has just been brought me by Dr. Bown, with a request I should sign it. I have refused to sign this document, because those engaged in getting it up have been, to a very great extent, the cause of all our present troubles. The course they have adopted, in their relations with the Canadian

* Dr. Schultz's half-brother with whom he was not on good terms.

Government and its officials, is well known to all here; and their connection with the latter has not been fruitful of good to the country. The petition has been written by one who has broken our laws; headed by one who has broken our laws; and handed me by one who has broken our laws. I could not consent to mix myself with such people, and have on these grounds refused to sign it. Reports have of late been industriously circulated, reflecting both on my private and public character as Postmaster. It has been said I have assisted to raise the French half-breeds to resist Mr McDougall, and assisted, by providing provisions and otherwise, to maintain the prevailing excitement among them. The truth of these slanderous rumours I totally deny. I coincide with the party of action, so far as they endeavour to obtain their and our rights;—that I ever advised or encouraged them in any way to take up arms or to perform any illegal act, is false, and the man who utters such statements is false too. With regard to my character as Postmaster, the statements made against me are groundless, and any man who professes to have proof to the contrary should now come forward and produce it. I can solemnly swear that no letters have been tampered with, so far as my Post Office is concerned; and, although the mail bags were detained a couple of times, for an hour or two, no man's letters were tampered with. My earnest wish is, that the Canadian Government should be established as early as possible; only let us have our elective and other acknowledged rights. I have tried for this from the first, and will continue to do so. My own desire is that the

French portion of the Settlement should now speak out their minds, on what they deem justly due them, in the new order of government. This once obtained by the Settlement generally, and found to be what every free people has a right to expect, my belief is, that those who have, as it were, fought our battles (although, perhaps, in a different way than we have done) will have the thanks, hereafter, of the people in the Settlement and their posterity; and that their wishes will be the wishes of the rest of the Settlement; and that all will combine in demanding our rights—the unassailable rights of a free people, worthy of having a thorough and complete voice in the management of their own affairs.

"A. G. B. BANNATYNE.

"Winnipeg, November 22nd, 1869."

Another petition followed, said to have been started by D. A. Grant, on Col Dennis' staff, to the effect that the signers were willing to arrange matters, and conciliate all parties as much as possible, and recommended the French to lay down their arms. Neither of those petitions were read; but the fact of their being handed in to the Convention had an injurious effect, for it was not the time for outsiders, mostly strangers in the country, to interfere with matters which they only looked upon from a one-sided point of view.

CHAPTER IV.

ARREST, BY THE INSURGENTS, OF THE GOVERNOR AND OFFICIALS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—CONFISCATION OF THE CUSTOM HOUSE PAPERS AND EFFECTS—SEIZURE OF GOVERNMENT STORES —BILL OF RIGHTS—QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION.

ON the 22nd November the council of delegates again sat; and, after debating nearly all day on the advantages and disadvantages of a connexion with Canada, nothing definite was arrived at. Towards the end of the meeting, Mr. Thos. Bunn arose and said that the three days which they had spent together had been productive of no good, so far as he could see. The two sides of the Convention were then as far apart as they had been at the commencement of their sittings. He proposed that the French should lay down their arms; and that then both sections of the Settlement would be on an equal footing to discuss the political state of the country. He also spoke in favour of allowing Mr. McDougall to enter the Territory, so that the settlers could then place their grievances before the new Governor personally and seek redress.

Riel, upon this, arose and excitedly declared for his own part, and on behalf of the French people, that Mr. McDougall would never enter into the Settlement, either as a private individual or as Governor of the country.

This broke up the council for that day. It was agreed,

however, to meet again on the morrow. The effect of the day's proceedings was to cause a wider breach than ever between the French and English; and very little hope now existed of their being able to come to an agreement. The French up to this time had not declared their policy; and the English were consequently pretty much in the dark as to their intentions.

Col. Stutzman, of Pembina, who (although an American citizen living in the United States) took an active part in advising and otherwise aiding the insurgents, arrived from Pembina on the 22nd; and, during the most of the day, remained in deep consultation with the leaders on the French side, when they were not in attendance at the council. This man having no stake in the country, and not being allied in any way with the natives of Red River Settlement, took upon himself the task of "*adviser*" to the French in arms; and there is no doubt that he did much harm by his culpable and unwise counsel. It was he who concocted the following address on behalf of the Indians around Pembina, which he wished them to present to Mr. McDougall on his arrival at the International line. The Indians, however, concluded not to take Mr. Stutzman's advice, and consequently the document we give below was never made use of:—

"English Territory, near Pembina,
"Sept. 26th, 1869.

"His Excellency, Governor McDougall.

"SIR,—The undersigned, representing the Chippewa Indians, who own and occupy a large portion of the

country known as the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory or Rupert's Land, take the liberty to inform your Excellency that we have been delegated to meet your Excellency; to remain for a few days at or near the fort of the Hudson's Bay Company (near Pembina), in order to afford our people the opportunity to meet your Excellency in general council; that we may learn from your Excellency the intention of the Government you represent respecting our people and lands. We have heard that the said Government has purchased certain interests of the Hudson's Bay Company; but we have never been informed what interests—said interests could not have been lands, for the simple reason that said Company (according to the statement of old men) obtained only a right to occupy for a limited time a certain district of country. White men, said to be sent from the Government you represent, have commenced to divide our territory into small lots for the purpose, as we have been informed, of selling them to white people;—and all this is being done without consulting us—without any treaty stipulations—and as though these lands belong to your Government; hence do we insist upon a general council and a full and satisfactory understanding before your Excellency, in the name of your Government, assumes possession of the Territory. Our people greatly prefer to maintain friendly relations to your Excellency and the Government you represent; and we well know that this can only be done by a thorough and amicable adjustment of our respective rights by a written treaty. We know that we have rights, and we are united as one man in the determination

to defend them at all hazards; and for the sake of our people, as well as for the best interests of your Excellency and the Government you represent, we trust that our rights will be fully respected; and that we may be able to extend to you the right hand of friendship. On our own behalf, as well as the people we represent, we beg that your Excellency will accept our kindest regards.

"PIE-WASCH.
"CHA-WA-WE-ASH."

On the morning of the 23d November, news was brought to the town of Winnipeg by the son* of Rev. Geo. Young, who had escaped over the walls of Fort Garry, that Governor MacTavish, Dr. Cowan, and all the other Hudson's Bay Company's officers were taken prisoners by orders of Riel, and that the Fort was in full possession of the insurgents. It was also stated that the books and records of the Colony of Assiniboia had been seized, under threats of violence, from J. H. MacTavish, the accountant. This unexpected turn in affairs, greatly exaggerated as it was at the time, made people feel very uneasy. The English delegates were at first undecided whether to keep their appointment with the French, fearing lest an attempt might be made on their personal liberty and thus jeopardize the peace of the whole Settlement. They, however, decided upon attending the council as if nothing unusual had happened; and, between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, they met the French at the Court House for the fourth time.

* Employed at the time by the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk.

The proceedings resulted in the French members declaring their intentions to form a Provisional Government for the purpose of treating with Canada for the future government of the country, and at the same time they asked their English brethren to join them. As the English delegates were not prepared to act in this emergency without first consulting the people whom they represented, it was decided that the Convention should be adjourned till Wednesday, the 1st December.

Riel and his followers, up to this time, had professed to respect the Hudson's Bay Company as a governing power; and had also, with the exception of what we have already described, refrained from any very serious act of trespass on public or private property. They now, however, undertook to overthrow the existing Government at one sweep; and, in seizing the books and records of the Colony, were interfering with the rights and privileges of the rest of the Settlement. It had been customary to keep a register of all lands sold by the Hudson's Bay Company to settlers, and all transfers of the same from one individual to another. This register was then in the hands of the French; and, had it been destroyed, the title deeds to over one-half of the farms in the Settlement would have been lost. This, then, was considered by the English as a very serious trespass on the part of the French, and assisted in fanning the flame of bad feeling which was rapidly springing up between the two sections of the Colony. Riel took a very strange way to effect a union with the English—one which rather tended to separate than unite—and the closing of the gates of Fort

Garry to all ingoers or outcomers made matters still worse. The English delegates, before the end of the fourth day, had decided upon not pressing the question as to the propriety of allowing Mr. McDougall to enter the Settlement; but they went back to their several parishes, very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Convention, as far as they had gone; and, at the same time, they were quite opposed to the formation of any Government in the place of the Hudson's Bay Company until arrangements had been made with Canada.

On the 24th, Riel sent a guard to the house of Mr. Rodger Goulait, the Collector of Customs under the Hudson's Bay Company's rule, and demanded all the papers, cash and due bills connected with the department under his care. These Mr. Goulait was obliged to deliver up; and, when we explain that it had been customary to accept notes from merchants for the amount of their duties when it was not at times convenient for them to pay the cash, it will be seen that the act of seizing those notes, along with the other papers, looked very much as if the French were going to take the law in their own hands, whether the English liked it or not. Riel, all through the troubles, went step by step, and this was only a prelude to what was to follow; but therein lay the great mistake of the leaders on the French side. While doing their utmost to induce the English settlers to join them, they at the same time committed acts that drove them farther apart.

On the 24th November the last issue of the "Nor'-Wester," in an entirely new form, appeared—(it only

wore its new dress once, for it was shortly afterwards suppressed by the French)—and thought proper to find fault with the Proclamation of Governor MacTavish, saying that many things had been left out which ought to have been there; and furthermore stated that the omissions complained of had been willingly made. It pitched into the Toronto "Globe" as having been one of the direct causes of the trouble in Red River; whereas it ought to have looked into the private office of its own editor. It also took upon itself to speak (apparently without any authority) of the intentions of the incoming Government; and altogether, as usual, made a mess of matters—but it was the last dying gasp of the little sheet which had sown so much trouble and disunion amongst the people of the North-West, for it never appeared again in public. It was reported, on the 24th, that Riel had seized or attempted to seize the Canadian Government provisions in the warehouse of Dr. Schultz; and, on the strength of that, emissaries were sent down the Settlement by the "Friends of Canada" to raise the people to defend those stores. It was said in St. Andrew's parish, by some of those emissaries, that a large number of men were waiting in Kildonan (when such was not the case) to join in the movement, but the English settlers saw through the trick in time and did not answer to the "call." The pork question, however, was made to answer a purpose, which eventually caused a great deal of misery to the whole Settlement.

The following is the statement of Mr. D. A. Grant, in a letter to Mr. McDougall, which plainly shows that

a mountain had been made out of a mole-hill, to serve a purpose:—

"To-day, about 4 p. m., we got information that the Government stores in Dr. Schultz's were being seized. Captain Boulton, Mr. Codd and self, proceeded immediately to ascertain the truth of the matter. We found Riel and an armed guard coming out of the back store with Dr. Schultz. I went up and asked what particular business was going on? The Doctor said, 'Mr. Riel is taking an inventory of the stores.' I replied, looking at Riel, 'They are the Queen's property.' He turned about and stamped, exclaiming angrily, 'the devil's property,' moving away at the same time. On enquiring about the matter, the Doctor told us that his carts had been stopped at the Fort and he went down to see about them. Saw Riel, who said that it was 'merely a matter of form,' but he wished to know 'if the duties had been paid,' and 'there were no arms in the cases.' The Doctor answered 'No, there were no arms.' Riel, however, accompanied the Doctor to his store, for the purpose of examining them. On entering the store Riel said, 'Are these all your goods?' Doctor replied 'No, Government property.' Riel then said 'By-the-by, that reminds me I may as well take an inventory of them, in case any parties should remove any portion and it would be laid to us.' In the meantime an armed guard of four men had come up (as Dr. S. says, 'a sly mode of getting access to the store'). Riel put two of them in charge and went off intending to return."

The letter then goes on to show how Riel did not take

an inventory on being resisted by Dr. Schultz, and after stating a proposition to remove the stores, Grant says:—

"If we meet opposition we will defend the stores, and remove them against all comers. This will have the effect, *perhaps, of precipitating matters.*" A postscript is added as follows:—

"P. S.—It is understood that, if we act in this matter, we act upon our own responsibility. Not wishing to compromise authority, we only desire to have advice." The advice of Mr. McDougall was to refrain from bringing on a collision with or between the settlers. Riel did go to the store of Dr. Schultz with the view of taking an inventory of the Government provisions; for as he said, "We (the French) being the party in arms, it will be said, should anything happen to those provisions, or should any of them be removed, that we, or some of us, did it. I wish to know what is in the store, and then I will be able to answer for my men." Mr. Grant, however, plainly shows that this step on the part of Riel was construed by Dr. Schultz and his party into another meaning altogether, so that *matters might be precipitated* and a row ensue. In fact, the Proclamation plan not having answered their purpose, Mr. McDougall and his friends seemed to have turned their attention altogether towards getting up a row, as they called it. Mr. McDougall, in his despatch to Hon. Joseph Howe, on 29th November, says (speaking of the provisions):—

"They cannot eat them up at once, and if the measures I have taken to organize an armed force to seize Riel and his colleagues and disperse the rank and file of his

followers should prove successful, the provisions will soon again be in our possession." We will, however, leave the provision question for a time as we will have occasion to turn our attention to it again. Still, we cannot help saying, that it was made use of by the "Friends of Canada," to effect their purposes, and there is no doubt, that in it lay the commencement of many of the serious consequences that afterwards followed.

About this time an effort was made to induce the French to consent to a medium course, which it was considered ought to satisfy all parties. It was this :—

First, that the Hudson's Bay Company should continue on in its government of the country, until the settlers came to some arrangements with Canada : Secondly, that a committee should then be formed of members chosen from amongst the people, to treat with Mr. McDougall on behalf of the Canadian Government, or with the Dominion direct. It was thought that this plan would answer all the purposes and allay the ill feeling existing amongst the settlers. The proposition was first made to the French party, and on its being favorably entertained by them, messengers were sent to the English parishes to sound them on the subject ; and it was found that they heartily concurred in the idea. Matters looked very promising at that time towards a settlement of the difficulties, and great hopes were entertained that the country would be saved any further serious trouble. The English settlers had made up their minds not to send representatives to the Convention appointed for the 1st December ; but, on the foregoing plan being placed before them, they

agreed, once more, to send delegates to see what could be done in the matter. About this time, it was observed that Dr. Schultz was removing a large quantity of goods from his store to different parts of the Settlement—some towards Portage LaPrairie and others in the direction of the Stone Fort, or Lower Fort Garry. A good deal of speculation was rife amongst the neighbours as to the meaning of this move on the Doctor's part; but after occurrences told the tale, and showed plainly that he and his party had it in view to make his store (or as it was afterwards misnamed Fort Schultz) a stand-point against the French.

Dame rumour now began to use her power, and it must be said that she added greatly to the complications of the time. Reports began to fly about in all quarters and on all subjects; and it was greatly owing to this that the excitement was kept up to such an extent as it was. One of those injurious reports, circulated about this time, was to the effect that the Canadians in Winnipeg were going to make a dash upon Fort Garry, and take it out of the hands of the French. There was no foundation for this rumour; but the consequence of its being afloat caused the French to be more on the alert, and to have suspicions of those who had not joined them, and tended to widen the breach then existing between the two sides of the Settlement.

That our readers may have some idea of the state of feeling around Fort Garry, we may here give a short description of a couple of meetings that took place, about this time, in the town of Winnipeg. On the evening of

26th November, a meeting was held in the engine house, town of Winnipeg, for the purpose of hearing the reports of the delegates, and, also, to determine on the future action of the citizens, in reference to the then political state of the country. The meeting was packed by Dr. Schultz, with a number of men mostly hailing from Canada, very few of whom had any stake, whatever, in the country; a portion of them having been working on the Lake of the Woods road, under Snow. The object of the Doctor seemed to be to break up the meeting; and, as there were a large number opposed to him (both sides being armed with revolvers), it looked very much as if the meeting would end in a free fight. Riel, towards the middle of the meeting, made his appearance and spoke for some time to those present. He said, that the idea of having a provisional government was, because the Hudson's Bay Company's rule was too weak, and, perhaps, biassed as matters stood; that the movement was altogether a French one, and that they merely invited the English side to join them. They did not intend to attempt coercing anyone into their views, neither was it their intention to interfere with any person's rights in the Settlement. This was the substance of his speech.

Soon afterwards he left, and other speakers took his place, but nothing definite was arrived at, as it seemed quite evident that Dr. Schultz and his party were determined to break up the meeting. The opposite side, therefore, on the excuse that the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Bannatyne, had been insulted, ran in the engine, and thus dispersed the members in every direction. The next day

invitations, as follows, were sent to all the householders in the town; and this plan was adopted, so that parties having no stake in the town might be excluded. The following is a copy of the notice:—

"SIR,—You are respectfully requested to attend a meeting of householders of the town of Winnipeg, to decide the question before the meeting of last evening as to who are to be considered as entitled to vote. The meeting will be held at Geo. Emerling's Hotel, at 3 o'clock p. m.

"A. G. B. BANNATYNE,
"*Chairman.*

"Town of Winnipeg, Nov. 27, 1869."

At the second meeting, Dr. Schultz had not the same chance to interfere, although he tried hard to carry a motion to the effect that a three weeks' resident might have the right to vote. This was lost, and the following motion carried:—

"That all householders, property owners, and seven months' residents, be allowed the right to vote."

About this time, it was rumored that the Queen's Proclamation had arrived, and some said it was in the hands of Governor MacTavish; but this was not generally believed. On the 30th November, it was found that the French would not agree to the proposition to allow the Hudson's Bay Government to remain in power, and form a committee of members from the people to treat with Canada. The gentlemen, therefore, who had interested themselves amongst the English settlers in the matter, were placed in a very awkward position, especially as

they had been instrumental in bringing the English delegates together to meet the French on the subject. On the 1st December, therefore, when a number of the English delegates were assembled together, it was intimated to them that their trip to Fort Garry was likely to turn out a useless one, as the French would not agree to the proposition which they (the English) had come prepared to agree to. And now, during all this time, what was Mr. McDougall doing at Pembina? An extract from a letter, dated 29th November, from him to Hon. Joseph Howe, gives some light upon the subject:—

"SIR,—I have the honour to report that I am still at Pembina, in the territory of the United States (Messrs. Richards, Provencher and Begg, being with me), and unable, in consequence of the continued occupation of the road by armed men, to proceed to Fort Garry. I have further to report that I have not received any instructions for my guidance on and after the day of the transfer of the Territory to Canada, nor any notice of the Order in Council, which has *no doubt* been passed to effect it. In these circumstances, I am compelled to act upon the general powers and directions of my commission, and of the Acts of Parliament, Canadian and Imperial, which *seem* to bear upon the case. *I have accordingly prepared a Proclamation,* to be issued on the first day of December, reciting so much of the several Acts of Parliament as seemed necessary to disclose the requisite authority; and stating, by way of recital, *the fact of surrender by the Hudson's Bay Company, acceptance by Her Majesty and*

Transfer to Canada from and after the 1st December, A.D. 1869. These facts *I gather from the newspapers*; from a private letter to me of the Deputy-Governor of the Company; and my own knowledge, before I left Ottawa, that the 1st of December had been agreed upon as the date of the transfer. In the present state of affairs in the Settlement, it is of the utmost importance to *announce the transfer of authority* in the most AUTHENTIC and solemn manner possible, in order to give confidence and the protection of legality to the acts of the loyal and well-disposed, and to put the malcontents and their American advisers and sympathisers publicly and technically in the wrong," &c., &c.

In strange contrast with the above action, on the part of Mr. McDougall, we find the following extract from his letter of instructions, dated 28th Sept., 1869:—

"SIR,—As you have been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West territories, in anticipation of the formal transfer of those territories by Her Majesty to the Dominion of Canada, *and as it is expected that such transfer will be made within the course of the next two or three months*, I have the honour, by command of His Excellency the Governor-General, to inform you that it is desirable that no time should be lost in making the necessary preliminary arrangements for the organization of the government of the territories.

"2. With this view, I am to instruct you (at Mr. McDougall's own request) to proceed with all convenient speed to Fort Garry, in order that you may effectually

superintend the carrying out of the preliminary arrangements indicated in the preceding paragraph, *and be ready to assume the government of the territories* ON THEIR ACTUAL TRANSFER TO CANADA."

Mr. McDougall seems to have been once more seized with his mania for Proclamations, as we read the following in his next letter, of 2nd December, to Mr. Howe :—

"I enclose (paper B) copy of a *second Proclamation*, which I deemed it my duty to issue."

At the same time he appears to have had doubts, regarding the propriety of the course he was pursuing, for he adds :—

"I hope I am right in using the name of Her Majesty as prominently as I have done."

The English delegates, being assembled together, were discussing the change in the feelings of the French, in having refused to agree to the plan of allowing the Hudson's Bay Company to remain in power, when word was brought in that Col. Dennis had arrived from Pembina, at the Stone Fort, with the *Queen's Proclamation* in his pocket, and that it would be issued during the course of that day. Mr. Robert Tait (one of the delegates) soon after came in and gave the startling, but at the same time welcome, information that he had in his possession a copy of the important document, which had been entrusted to him to be made public at the first opportunity. Here, then, seemed a solution at last of all their difficulties—no one present, with the exception of Mr. McKenney, doubting the genuineness of the document. The French council

being then in session, it was resolved that some one should be sent to place the said copy of the Proclamation before them; and Mr. Bannatyne was selected as the proper person to do this. That gentleman, therefore, proceeded alone to Fort Garry, having the Proclamation with him; and, when he reached the council chamber of the French, he at once made known his mission and earnestly entreated them to consider well before taking any further steps in the movement which they had undertaken. The greater part of the French council seemed inclined to regard the Proclamation favourably; and Mr. Bannatyne thought that, if the English delegates were to meet them, the whole affair could be arranged satisfactorily and an end put to the troubled state of the country. He therefore addressed the following note to the English delegates, who had remained behind in the town of Winnipeg to await the effect produced on their French brethren by the Proclamation. The note read as follows :—

"To Dr. Bird, Mr. Bunn, Messrs. W. & R. Tait, Mr. Gunn, and all the English delegates. I have shown the Proclamation to all the French delegates who are here now; they will be glad if you come up; all are quiet and pleased, and I believe much good can be done by coming here at once.

"Yours sincerely,

"A. G. B. Bannatyne."

The English delegates, in accordance with the above note, immediately proceeded to Fort Garry, where they remained in council with the French until 4 p.m. The

latter then asked to be allowed to deliberate amongst themselves for a couple of hours—so the meeting adjourned till 6 o'clock. In the meantime, huge copies of the Proclamation in English and French had been written out by the clerks in Col. Dennis' office; and these, being certified to by D. A. Grant, were posted up on the several store doors in the town—Dr. Schultz' doors being literally covered with them. It certainly did not reflect much credit upon those who wrote these copies, for more miserable daubs could hardly have been produced.

At 6 o'clock, p.m., the French and English delegates again met according to appointment, when the former presented the following Bill of Rights, which, after being discussed by both sides, was finally agreed to on nearly every point by all parties present. There was, of course, some difference of opinion in regard to one or two of the clauses; but, on the whole, there was only one part of the Bill which met with any decided opposition from the English side. The following is a copy of the Bill of Rights as it was then presented to the council of delegates :—

"1st. The right to elect our own Legislature.

"2. The Legislature to have power to pass all laws, local to the Territory, over the veto of the Executive, by a two-thirds vote.

"3. No Act of the Dominion Parliament (local to this Territory) to be binding on the people until sanctioned by their representatives.

"4. All sheriffs, magistrates, constables, &c., &c., to be elected by the people—a free homestead pre-emption law.

"5. A portion of the public lands to be appropriated to the benefit of schools, the building of roads, bridges, and parish buildings.

"6. A guarantee to connect Winnipeg by rail with the nearest line of railroad—the land grant for such road or roads to be subject to the Legislature of the Territory.

"7. For 4 years the public expenses of the Territory, civil, military and municipal, to be paid out of the Dominion Treasury.

"8. The military to be composed of the people now existing in the Territory.

"9. The French and English language to be common in the Legislature and Council, and all public documents and Acts of Legislature to be published in both languages.

"10. That the Judge of the Superior Court speak French and English.

"11. Treaties to be concluded and ratified between the Government and several tribes of Indians of this Territory, calculated to insure peace in the future.

"12. That all privileges, customs and usages existing at the time of the transfer, be respected.

"13. That these rights be guaranteed by Mr. McDougall before he be admitted into this Territory.

"14. If he have not the power himself to grant them, he must get an Act of Parliament passed expressly securing us these rights; and, until such Act be obtained, he must stay outside the Territory.

"15. That we have a full and fair representation in the Dominion Parliament."

It was then proposed sending delegates from the coun-

cil, consisting of two from the French side and two from the English, to confer with Mr. McDougall at Pembina. Riel, however, arose and said that the rights demanded had to be secured to the people of the country by an Act of Parliament; and that until Mr. McDougall could show such an Act, he would not be permitted to enter the Territory; and, furthermore, that no verbal or written promise, that the said Act would be granted thereafter, be accepted from him. This at once put an end to the idea of sending the delegates, for the English said it would be a useless mission on the terms proposed by Riel —Mr. McDougall having no power to produce an Act of Parliament [NOTE BY AUTHOR—although he had concocted a Queen's Proclamation] at a moment's notice; nor could he give any guarantee that such an Act would be passed at all. The meeting then broke up, and thus ended the 1st Convention. The English delegates afterwards met together and discussed at length the propriety of sending delegates to confer with Mr. McDougall; but they finally agreed that there would be no use in doing so, and separated to go to their several homes, feeling that their time had been so far spent uselessly, and impressed with a keen sense of the difficulties before the settlers of Red River generally. It was currently believed that Stutzman, from Pembina, had a great deal to do with framing the foregoing Bill of Rights; and the fact of there being Americanisms in its composition plainly shows that parties having predilections in favour of Uncle Sam had at least something to do with it. Until this time, however, the Americans in the Settlement, with the exception of

one or two, had not come out openly in the movement, although it was well known that Stutzman was interesting himself greatly behind the scenes. It will also be observed that there was no word as yet on the part of the French with regard to a land grant to the natives of the country; but there is every reason to suppose that it was being held as a point in reserve for a future day. When Mr. Bannatyne went down to the French council, at the request of the English delegates, with the Proclamation, the most of the members then sitting were inclined to receive and respect it as coming from and with the sanction of Her Majesty; but Riel, from the first, doubted its genuineness. If, however, it is the Queen's Proclamation, he said to his French associates, I would advise you to be careful how you act; at the same time we have rights which, even allowing that the transfer of authority to Canada has been accomplished, we are in duty bound to try for. We will now give a copy of the document, prepared by Mr. McDougall and hoisted upon the settlers as a veritable Queen's Proclamation, but which, as we have already shown by his own letter, was nothing more nor less than a creation of his own brain:—

"WILLIAM MCDOUGALL.

L. S.
"The North West Territories.

"VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, QUEEN, Defender of the Faith, &c., &c., &c.

"*To all to whom these presents shall come,*

GREETING:

"PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS by the 'British North America Act, 1867,' it was (amongst other things) enacted, that it should be lawful for Her Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, on address from the Houses of Parliament of Canada, to admit Rupert's Land and the North Western Territory, or either of them, into the Union or Dominion of Canada, on such terms and conditions as are in the address expressed, and as Her Majesty thinks fit to approve: And whereas for the purpose of carrying into effect the said provisions of 'The British North America Act, 1867,' 'The Rupert's Land Act, 1868,' enacted and declared, that it should be competent for 'the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay,' to surrender to 'Her Majesty and for Her Majesty, by any instrument under Her sign manual and signet, to accept a surrender of all or any of the lands, territories, powers, and authorities whatsoever granted, or purported to be granted, by certain Letters Patent of His late Majesty King Charles the Second, to the said Governor and Company within Rupert's Land, upon such terms and conditions as should be agreed upon by and between Her Majesty and the said Governor and Company': And whereas by the 'Rupert's Land Act, 1868,' it is further enacted that, from the date of the admission of Rupert's Land into the Dominion of Canada as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the Parliament of Canada to make, ordain, and establish, within the Land and Territory so admitted as aforesaid, all such laws, institutions and

ordinances, and to constitute such courts and officers as may be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of her Majesty's subjects and others therein: And whereas it is further provided by the said Act, that, until otherwise enacted by the said Parliament of Canada, all the powers, authorities and jurisdiction of the several courts of justice now established in Rupert's Land and of the several officers thereof, and of all magistrates and justices now acting within the said limits, shall continue in full force and effect therein: And whereas the said Governor and Company have surrendered to Her Majesty and Her Majesty has accepted a surrender of all the lands, territories, rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers and authorities granted, or purported to be granted, by the said letters patent, upon certain terms and conditions agreed upon by and between Her Majesty and the said Governor and Company: And whereas Her Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and on an Address from both the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, in pursuance of the one hundred and forty-sixth section of 'The British North America Act, 1867,' hath declared that Rupert's Land and the North Western Territory shall, from the first day of December in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, be admitted into and become part of the Dominion of Canada, upon the terms and conditions expressed in the said Address of which Her Majesty has approved, and Rupert's Land and the said North-Western Territory are admitted into the Union, and have become part of the Dominion of Canada accordingly: And

whereas the Parliament of Canada, by an Act entitled 'An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North Western Territory when united with Canada,' enacted that it should be lawful for the Governor by any order or orders to be by him from time to time made with the advice of the Privy Council, (and subject to such conditions and restrictions as to him should seem meet) to authorize and empower such officer as he may from time to time appoint as Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories, to make provision for the administration of justice therein, and generally to make, ordain, and establish, all such laws, and institutions, and ordinances, as may be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of Her Majesty's subjects and others therein:

"NOW KNOW YE, that WE have seen fit by OUR ROYAL LETTERS PATENT, bearing date the Twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, to appoint the Honourable WILLIAM MCDOUGALL, of the City of Ottawa, in the Province of Ontario, in our Dominion of Canada, and member of our Privy Council for Canada, and Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath, on, from, and after the day to be named by us for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North Western Territory aforesaid, into the Union or Dominion of Canada, to wit: on, from, and after the first day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, to be, during our pleasure, the LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR of the North West Territories; AND WE DID THEREBY authorize, and empower, and

require, and command him in due manner to do and to execute in all things that shall belong to his said command and the truth we have reposed in him, according to the several provisions and instructions granted or appointed him by virtue of Our said Commission, and the Act of the Parliament of Canada herein before recited, and according to such instructions as have been, or may from time to time be given to him, and to such laws as are or shall be enforced within the North West Territories. Of all which our loving subjects of our said Territories, and all others whom these Presents may concern, are hereby required to take notice and to govern themselves accordingly.

"IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, WE have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of our said North-West Territories to be hereunto affixed, Witness, our Trusty and Well Beloved WILLIAM MCDOUGALL, member of Our Privy Council for Canada, and Companion of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-Governor of our North-West Territories, &c., &c., &c., at the Red River, in our aforesaid North-West Territories, the first day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the thirty-third year of Our Reign.

"By Command.

"J. A. N. PROVENCHER,

"*Secretary.*

"GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

"Winnipeg, December 1st, 1869.

"Certified a true copy.

"D. A. GRANT."

On the 2nd December, the Proclamation mood seems to have been still upon Mr. McDougall, for we find him issuing the following document, supplanting Governor MacTavish in a very unceremonious manner:—

"The North-West Territories.

"PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency the Honourable William McDougall, a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council of Canada, and Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, &c., &c., &c.

"*To all to whom these presents shall come—*

GREETING:

"WHEREAS Her Majesty the QUEEN, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the Dominion of Canada, bearing date the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, in the thirty-third year of Her Majesty's reign, has been graciously pleased to constitute and appoint me, on, from, and after the day to be named by Her Majesty for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, to be LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR in and over 'The North-West Territories' during Her Majesty's pleasure, and did thereby authorize and empower and require and command me, on, from, and after the day aforesaid, to do and execute all things in due manner that shall belong to my said command and the trust reposed in me, according to

the several powers and instructions granted or appointed me by that Her Majesty's Commission and of the Act of Parliament passed in the thirty-second year of Her Majesty's reign, intituled 'An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada,' and the instructions given me with such Commission, or by such further instructions as may hereafter be given me in respect of the North-West Territories and the Government thereof by Her Majesty's Governor-General in Council, under his sign manual, or through one of Her Majesty's Privy Council of Canada, and according to such laws as are now and shall hereafter be in force in the said North-West Territories: And whereas Her Majesty has declared and named the first day of December instant as the day for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union and Dominion of Canada: And whereas, by virtue and in pursuance of 'The British North America Act, 1867,' 'The Rupert's Land Act, 1868,' the said 'Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada,' and the said Declaration and Order of Her Majesty, Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory have been admitted into union with and have become and are now part of the Dominion of Canada, and are henceforth to be styled and known as 'The North-West Territories:'

"Now Know Ye that I have thought fit to issue this Proclamation, to make known Her Majesty's said appointment to all officers, magistrates, subjects of Her

Majesty, and others within the said 'The North-West Territories;' and I do hereby require and command that all and singular the public officers and functionaries holding office in Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory at the time of their admission into the Union as aforesaid, excepting the public officer or functionary at the head of the administration of affairs, do continue in the execution of their several and respective offices, duties, places and employments, until otherwise ordered by me, under the authority of the said last-mentioned Act; and I do hereby further require and command that all Her Majesty's loving subjects, and all others whom it may concern, do take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

"Given under my hand and seal-at-arms, at Red River, in the said Territories, this second day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the Thirty-third year of Her Majesty's Reign.

"WM. MCDOUGALL.

"By Command.

"J. A. N. PROVENCHER,
"*Secretary.*"

Mr. McDougall adds the following postscript to the above when forwarding a copy of the document to Hon. Jos. Howe—said postscript, however, did not appear in public to the settlers of Red River :—

"I have asked Mr. Provencher to sign, as Secretary,

his formal appointment depending upon the course of events, and the requirements of the Act.

"WM. MCDOUGALL."

Mr. McDougall, having employed his spare moments for such a length of time in abusing Governor MacTavish (see his letters), no doubt at last became desperate and committed the foregoing outrageous blunder, exclaiming—

"Off with his head—so much for MacTavish."

CHAPTER V.

APPOINTMENT OF COL. DENNIS AS DEPUTY-GOVERNOR—SUPPRESSION OF THE "NOR-WESTER" AND "RED RIVER PIONEER"—ENROLMENT OF SETTLERS, BY ORDER OF GOVERNOR MCDOUGALL, TO OFFER ARMED RESISTANCE TO THE HALF-BREEDS—GARRISON AT STONE FORT.

ON the 2nd December, there were two rumours in circulation about the Settlement, the first of which was to the effect that Col. Dennis had been appointed Deputy-Governor until Mr. McDougall should arrive; and the second was, that the new Governor was actually in the Settlement.

Three French half-breeds, named Augustin Nolin, François Nolin, and one Perrault, called on Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, on the same morning that these rumours were rife, and asked his advice and opinion regarding the state of affairs. Mr. Bannatyne pointed out to those men that the course Riel was pursuing would very likely bring the country into serious trouble; and, further, that an Act of Parliament was a tedious thing to obtain. He recommended them to accept a guarantee from Mr. McDougall that the claims of the people would be respected, and that he would use his influence in their behalf. The Nolins and Perrault, on the strength of Mr. Bannatyne's advice, declared that they would support the plan of sending delegates to see Mr. McDougall; and that, if he

(Mr. McD.) would satisfy them that everything would be right, they would guarantee to bring him into the Settlement in safety.

In the midst of their conversation, Mr. Bannatyne received a message from the French council, saying that they wished to see him; and, hoping to do some good, he placed a copy in French and one in English of the Proclamation in his pocket and went down immediately to Fort Garry, where he remained till evening endeavouring to induce Riel and his associates to send delegates with their Bill of Rights to Mr. McDougall. He succeeded so far, towards evening, that the council were inclined to adopt his views; and a communication to Mr. McDougall, to be sent him by the delegates, was suggested. Mr. Bannatyne returned to the town, feeling hopeful that a settlement of the difficulties was not far off; and, before leaving the Fort, he left the English copy of the Proclamation with Governor MacTavish, who, strange to say, *had not as yet seen the document.* The same night a party of the Canadians from the town started down in sleds towards the Stone Fort for the purpose of joining Col. Dennis there; and, as Riel had a strong guard in the town, it was feared that a collision would take place between the two parties. The fact of this movement going on only tended to strengthen the hands of Riel; for several French half-breeds, who had until then kept aloof from the insurgents, now came forward and joined them. The "Nor'-Wester" and "Red River Pioneer" newspapers were about this time stopped, by orders of Riel, and a guard placed in each of their printing offices.

As the "Red River Pioneer" never appeared in public, we will give a few extracts from one of the few copies printed, but which were not allowed to be circulated in the Settlement:—

"General Quarterly Court.

"This Court sat in the Court House, Upper Fort Garry, on the 18th and 19th inst.,—Judge Black presiding, with Dr. Cowan and Mr. Robert McBeath as associates.

"Selling Liquor to Indians.

"Judge Black, in opening the proceedings, said that he had received a letter from Mr. Hall (who had not put in an appearance), relative to a case of appeal which had been fixed for that court. He had been charged with having infringed the local law which prohibits the furnishing of intoxicating liquors to Indians, and judgment was given against him in the Petty Court. Mr. Hall, continued the Judge, subsequently wrote to me on the subject, desiring a re-hearing of the case. I informed him by letter that I had made the inquiry into his case which he had proposed, and had decided that the proper course would be for him to appear before the General Court on the 19th August, and there make application, stating the grounds of appeal. The Court would thus be in a proper position to determine whether the case should be heard at the November Court, or whether the application ought to be dismissed. In the meantime, execution of the Court was stayed. I think it is necessary here to refer to one or two points in connexion with this case.

Mr. Hall urged that, as he supplied the liquor to Indians while he was in the employ of Dr. Schultz, he (Hall) was exonerated from responsibility. He also urged that, according to the law of Canada in such cases, the employer and not the employee was held liable. It is very clear that no such distinction is regarded by our local laws. The law does not inquire whether the act has been done in one capacity or another. It says, 'Any person' furnishing intoxicating liquors to Indians shall be punished. With regard to the law of Canada being so and so, it is only necessary to state that we are not under the law of Canada, but our own laws and the laws of England, except in so far as they are altered by local enactment. * * * * *

"Mr. Hall stated, in regard to it, that, if he were allowed a little time, he would be enabled to bring witnesses to show that all the evidence was not true; he has now the opportunity he asked for; but, instead of coming forward, he writes to me, saying that 'Owing to the present unsettled state of the country, I trust you will not think it disrespectful in me not to appear to-day. While such is not my wish, I feel satisfied, no matter how well disposed your worship is, that justice, under existing circumstances, be meted out. I trust to your clemency not to have that unpleasant case against me called till it can be done with a prospect of fairness to all concerned.' Now, I know nothing in the circumstances of the country to make it unlikely, much less impossible, that justice should be done to Mr. Hall; and I cannot see why he should be so apprehensive of injustice. * * *

The Court then affirmed the judgment of the Petty Court, and ordered payment of the fine, £20 15s. 6d. and costs."

"PAST—PRESENT—FUTURE.

"Events have succeeded one another so rapidly of late that we hardly know how to chronicle them. The armed rising of the 22nd October, when 120 French half-breeds barred the entrance into the Settlement of the Hon. Mr. McDougall, has been followed by occurrences unlooked-for, even in a frontier section such as this. Upper Fort Garry is garrisoned by Frenchmen; the public documents were seized, and a French Provisional Government proclaimed. All this has been done in order to secure certain rights and liberties, of which our French-speaking fellow-settlers believed they were about being unjustly deprived. A convention of English and French delegates, which met at Fort Garry to take into consideration the present state of political affairs, sat for four days without being able to agree on any common platform; and now the entire English-speaking population of the Settlement are arming for self-defence. They state that they will not join in the Provisional Government, but that they desire to continue under the Hudson's Bay Company's Government until another is legally appointed. What is to be the upshot of the present state of things, who shall tell?

"As we go to press, the French Provisional Government is about to meet; and the Queen's Proclamation, declaring Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory annexed to the Dominion of Canada, had arrived in the Settlement.

The first inst. (to-day) is fixed as the date of annexation. The date of the Royal Letters Patent, appointing Hon. W. McDougall, C. B., Lieutenant-Governor of this Territory, is the 29th September."

"OFFICIAL PROTEST.

"We direct attention to the very important Proclamation, signed by Governor MacTavish, which will be found in our advertising columns to-day. Coming from such a source and at such a time, it deserves the most careful and respectful attention. An incomplete and imperfect copy, surreptitiously obtained and prefaced by remarks altogether unwarranted, has been printed in the office of our contemporary; and unfortunately for its reputation, even this introduction, brief as it is, contains a mis-statement. The protest, our contemporary says, was 'drawn out' of the Governor by a petition presented to him by several towns-people a few days previously. That this was not the case, our contemporary knows perfectly well. The truth is, that the Governor had some time before determined on sending this letter; and not only so, but the deputation were distinctly informed of this."

The following is reported as having been the portion of the newspaper objected to by Riel, and the cause of his stopping the issue thereof:—

"We, the inhabitants of St. John's and Kildonan parishes, being loyal to our Queen's Government and throne, and being desirous in all things to respect the laws of the land; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we cannot approve of the course of

our French-speaking fellow-settlers in resorting to arms to resist the establishment of Canadian authority in this country, as such authority has the sanction of the Queen and the Imperial Parliament; that we regard the existing Government of the Hudson's Bay Company as the only legal Government in this country at present; and, as law-abiding subjects, we cannot be parties to the formation or carrying on of any Provisional Government intended to supplant it; that it is inexpedient to send any delegates to communicate these views, but that they be made known in writing, and that the signatures of the people of these parishes be appended to the document transmitted; that the course pursued by our delegates, Messrs. Maurice, J. G. Lowman, and James Ross, at the recent Conference, is hereby cordially approved, and our thanks are tendered for their faithful discharge of duty as our delegates.

"Mr. John Matheson, seconded by Mr. Selkirk McKay, moved the adoption of the following letter to Governor MacTavish. The motion was carried unanimously. The letter set forth that, at a public meeting of the two parishes, it was unanimously resolved to make known to you (the Governor) 'that the said inhabitants sincerely tender you their sympathy and support in the present critical condition of public affairs, and that they deem the Governor and Council of Assiniboia as constituting the only legal and responsible Government in the country; and will therefore hold the said Governor and Council—acting in behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, and with the sanction of the Imperial authorities—responsible for

any loss of property or injury to person that may take place.'"

On the 3rd December, Mr. Bannatyne again visited Fort Garry on invitation of the French, and attended the sitting of their council. He found the members still favourably inclined towards sending delegates; and the communication, to be forwarded to Mr. McDougall, was in course of preparation, when word was brought in that the Canadian party, assisted by a number of the English settlers, were going to attack Fort Garry. Like a flash, all the good that had been done, through the instrumentality of Mr. Bannatyne, was entirely frustrated—the council broke up in confusion—Riel mustered his men and started out towards the town with a guard, while the walls of Fort Garry were manned by over two hundred men. Mr. Bannatyne returned to his home, fully convinced that no good could be done in the way of a settlement of the difficulties, so long as the Schultz party kept up the excitement by such demonstrations. The rumour of the intended attack turned out to be a false one, caused by the return of the men who had gone down the previous night to join Col. Dennis. It appears he enrolled them, and then sent them back with instructions to remain quiet until they heard from him. The evil, however, had been committed; the opportunity was lost; and there appeared less chance than ever of persuading Riel to consent to a meeting with Mr. McDougall. In this way the "Friends of Canada" stepped between the chances for an arrangement with the very man whom they professed to be working for. In the first place, Mr. McDougall was

knowingly overstepping his power, and his friends in the Settlement were exceeding the bounds altogether by attempting to further what he desired to initiate, namely —a civil war in the Territory.

During the night on which the party started for the Stone Fort to join Col. Dennis, Riel, with a guard, went round and searched a number of houses for the purpose, as it was stated at the time, of finding one George Klyne, who was supposed to have brought in despatches from Mr. McDougall. In the course of their search, they entered the house of Dr. Schultz, and unwarrantably disturbed the privacy of his home. This act on the part of Riel was not only an unwise one, but also a trespass on everything right and just. The capture of despatches from Mr. McDougall was not a sufficient reason for invading the sanctity of a man's home, at the probable risk of seriously disturbing the peace of his family. Dr. Schultz was not at home during Riel's visit, which made the matter appear still worse.

The following is the Commission given to Col. Dennis by Mr. McDougall, under which so much folly was committed, and which, after all, was the cause of so much misery and trouble in Red River Settlement:—

"THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

{L. S.} "By His Excellency, the Honourable WILLIAM McDOUGALL, a Member of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, and Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories.

"To John Stoughton Dennis, Esq.,

"Lieutenant-Colonel, Military Staff, Canada,

"GREETING:

"WHEREAS large bodies of armed men have unlawfully assembled on the high road between Fort Garry and Pembina, in the Colony or District of Assiniboia; and have, with force and arms, arrested and held as prisoners numerous private and official persons, and preventing them from proceeding on their lawful journey and business, and have committed other acts of lawless violence, in contempt and defiance of the magistrates and local authorities; And whereas William MacTavish, Esq., Governor of Assiniboia, did, on the sixteenth day of November last, publish and make known to these armed men, and all others whom it might concern, that the lawless acts aforesaid, and which were particularly set forth in his Proclamation, were 'contrary to the remonstrances and protests of the public authorities,' and did therein himself protest against each and all of the said unlawful acts and intents, and charged and commanded the said armed persons to immediately disperse themselves and peaceably to depart to their habitations or lawful business, under the pains and penalties of the law; and whereas, since the issue of the said protest or Proclamation, certain of the armed men aforesaid have taken possession of the public records and papers at Fort Garry, and have seized and held as prisoners the public officers or persons having charge of the same; and, as I am credibly informed, still keep unlawful possession of the said records and public property, and with force and

arms continue to obstruct public officers and others in the performance of their lawful duty and business, to the great terror, loss, and injury of Her Majesty's peaceful subjects, and in contempt of her Royal authority; And whereas Her Majesty, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the Dominion of Canada, bearing date the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, has been graciously pleased to appoint me to be, from and after the first day of December instant, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, and did authorize and command me to do and execute all things in due manner that shall belong to my said command:

"KNOW YOU, that reposing trust and confidence in your courage, loyalty, fidelity, discretion and ability, and under and in virtue of the authority in me vested, I have nominated and appointed, and by these presents do nominate and appoint, you, the said John Stoughton Dennis, to be my Lieutenant and a Conservator of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories, and do hereby authorize and empower you as such to raise, organize, arm, equip and provision a sufficient force within the said Territories; and, with the said force, to attack, arrest, disarm or disperse the said armed men so unlawfully assembled and disturbing the public peace; and for that purpose, and with the force aforesaid, to assault, fire upon, pull down, or break into any fort, house, stronghold, or other place in which the said armed men may be found; and I do hereby authorize you, as such Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace, to hire, purchase, impress and take all necessary clothing, arms, ammunition and supplies, and

all cattle, horses, waggons, sleighs or other vehicles which may be required for the use of the force to be raised as aforesaid; and I further authorize you to appoint as many officers and deputies under you, and to give them such orders and instructions from time to time as may be found necessary for the due performance of the services herein required of you, reporting to me the said appointments and orders as you shall find opportunity for confirmation or otherwise; and I hereby give you full power and authority to call upon all magistrates and peace officers to aid and assist you, and to order all or any of the inhabitants of the North-West Territories, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, to support and assist you in protecting the lives and properties of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, and in preserving the public peace, and for that purpose to seize, disperse or overcome by force the said armed men and all others who may be found aiding or abetting them in their unlawful acts; and the said persons so called upon, in Her Majesty's name, are hereby ordered and enjoined, at their peril, to obey your orders and directions in that behalf; and this shall be sufficient warrant for what you or they do in the premises, so long as this Commission remains in force.

"Given under my hand and seal-at-arms, at Red River, in the said Territories, this the first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the 33rd year of Her Majesty's Reign.

"By Command.

"WILLIAM MCDOUGALL.

"J. A. N. PROVENCHER, *Secretary.*"

"By virtue of the above Commission from the Lieutenant-Governor, I now hereby call on and order all loyal men of the North-West Territories to assist me by every means in their power to carry out the same, and thereby restore public peace and order and uphold the supremacy of the Queen in this part of Her Majesty's dominions.

"Given under my hand, at the Stone Fort, Lower Settlement, this sixth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

"J. S. DENNIS,
"*Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace in and for the N.-W. Territories.*"

Had Mr. McDougall, in the first place, been wise enough to refuse to ally himself to any party in the Settlement, and had he also refused to be guided by their views in regard to issuing a Proclamation at the time he did, and had he not afterwards given Col. Dennis the foregoing Commission, there is every reason to believe that the misery and troubles which followed would never have taken place; and had the "Friends of Canada" refrained from taking the steps they did, where would have been the cause for trouble? It is well known that the English settlers were resolved to merely stand on self-defence in case the French should endeavour to act on the aggressive; and it is also well known that they repeatedly refused to take up arms in order to bring either Mr. McDougall or the Canadian Government in. They said, what was very true, that, if Mr. McDougall or the Canadian Government wished to rule in the country, they ought to establish

themselves without asking the aid of others to do it for them. They would not, however, put any obstacle in the way of the new Governor nor new Government, and were ready to support them as soon as they were established. Under these circumstances, and when it is also considered that many amongst the French were favourably inclined towards meeting Mr. McDougall, it will be seen how unfortunate it was for the fortunes of that gentleman that he allied himself to the party he did in Red River Settlement. Had the Schultz party remained quiet, and refrained from keeping up an excitement between the French and English sections of the Settlement, it would have followed that Riel, without opposition, would never have been the Riel he turned out to be. The French are naturally order-loving people, and would have insisted upon Riel coming to some arrangement before long; and the Act of Parliament plan would have been laid aside in the meantime. We say this from our knowledge of the character of the French half-breeds. Mr. McDougall can therefore well exclaim, "Save me from my friends."

Had he followed his instructions from Ottawa, instead of listening to the advice of interested parties whose very existence seemed to rest upon his assuming the reins of government, he would never have compromised himself with his own Government; and the probability is that he would be the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories at the present day, instead of being, as he is, "left out in the cold."

There was no direct opposition on either the French or

English side—only a desire for better arrangements than had been proposed for the "temporary government of the country." There was a general feeling that, under that temporary government, certain men in the Settlement (who had boasted thereof beforehand) would be raised above their fellows, through the partiality of Mr. McDougall, to the detriment of the country generally; and there is no doubt had that been done, a great deal of dissatisfaction would have followed amongst a large class of the settlers, which might have resulted in a more general, and therefore worse, rebellion than the one which did take place. Had the people been satisfied that such would not have been the case, and that the future Government would have been conducted for the benefit of all parties, there would have been no opposition to Mr. McDougall; and, had that gentleman and his friends not acted in the way they did, there is reason to suppose that the difficulties of his position might have been got over. Instead of seeking, as he ought to have done, an interview with the malcontents, in order to explain to them the position of affairs, and, if possible, remove their prejudices, Mr. McDougall stood on his dignity and issued an illegal Proclamation, under which he proclaimed a course of war and destruction against those opposed to him, sufficient, of itself, to damn him in the estimation of all right-thinking men. About this time the following poetical effusion appeared in the Settlement—its circulation, however, being chiefly amongst the French :—

CHANSON

DES TRIBULATIONS D'UN ROI MALHEUREUX.

Est il rien sur la terre
De plus interessant
Que la tragique histoire
De McDougall et ses gens ?
Je vous la conterai ;
Veuillez bien m'ecouter.

Sur notre territoire,
Devenu ses Etats,
Il venait ce bon père,
Regner en potentat ;
Ainsi l'avait réglé
Le Ministre Cartier.

Le cœur gros d'espérance,
Partant du Canada,
Il dit, J'ai confiance
Qu'on vivra bien là-bas.
Ah ! quel bonheur ! ! ma foi ! ! !
Je suis donc enfin Roi !

Comptant sur les richesses
Qu'il trouverait chez nous,
Il eut la maladresse
De ne pas prendre un sou,
Même pour traverser
Un pays étranger.

Le Juif errant, plus sage,
En portait cinq au moins
Dont il faisait usage
Dans un cas de besoin.
C'etait mieux fait, on dit,
Que de prendre à credit.

Mais trève de remarques,
Allons droit au plus court,
Suivons notre Monarque
Entouré de sa Cour ;
Ce bon roi Dagobert
Traversant le désert.

Il parait que l'orage,
Dans son gouvernment,
Durant tout le voyage,
Eclata fort souvent.
L'union qui rend plus fort
Etait loin de ce corps.

Mais, malgré la tempête,
Cameron à son bord
Voulait decrire la fête
Qui l'attendait à port;
Et la voir imprimée
Avant qu'elle fut passée.

Ce ministre fidèle
Etant loin de prévoir
Qu'elle ne serait pas telle
Qu'il avait cru la voir—
Funeste illusion!
Qu'elle déception!!

Déjà de son roi aimé
Le sol il va toucher,
Quand tout-a-coup un homme
Lui défend d'avancer,
Lui disant "Mon ami
C'est assez loin ici."

Etonné de l'audace
De ces hardis mortels,
Il emploie les menaces
Pour vaincre ces rebels;
Mais cela fut en vain,
Il ne put gagner rien.

Obligé de reprendre
La voie du Canada,
Il lui faudra attendre
De l'argent pour cela;
Car, pour manger ici,
Il prend tout à credit.

Aujourd'hui sa couronne
Est un songe passé;
Le trone qu'on lui donne
Est un tronc percé;
Mais il dit qu'à présent
Il est bien suffisant.

Morale.

Adieu, Chateaux d'Espagne
Déjà si bien bâtis ;
Beau pays de Cocagne
Acheté à grand prix ;
Il faut laisser les plans
Tirés depuis longtemps.

Trouver de riches mines,
Ouvrir un long chemin
Pour pénètrer en Chine
Et voir même au Tonquin
Etait pour tous ces gens
De petits jeux d'enfant.

Aujourd'hui que va dire
Monsieur le Gouvernment ?
Sera-t-il noir de rire
Quand il verra ses plans
Déjà tous culbutés
Par tous les *Bois-brulés ?

We will now give a few extracts from the report of Col. Dennis, showing his movements after his arrival in the Settlement as Conservator of the Peace :—

Record of Proceedings under Commission, from Lieutenant-Governor McDougall, dated 1st *December,* 1869 :—

"Arrived at Mr. William Hallet's, on the Assiniboine, at 5 o'clock, a.m ; sent messengers for Mr. James McKay and Mr. Robert Tait, with whom and Mr. Hallet discussed the present situation of affairs in the Settlement ; read them the Proclamation of 1st December, and my Commission ; explained to them that my orders from Mr. McDougall were to ascertain the state of feeling at the

* Mem.—"Bois-brulés" is the French term for "half-breed."

present time among the loyal people; and, should it be found such as to warrant the belief that an appeal with the view of organising a force to put down the mal-contents would be responded to in such a manner as to leave little or no doubt of a favourable issue, I was to make such an appeal, organise a force, and put down the outbreak; on the other hand, should there be any doubt in mind as to the result, I was not to make any call but return to Pembina and report accordingly. Learned that the English-speaking delegates were to attend a meeting of the French council called for to-day to make known the result of a reference to the several parishes, of the French proposition to form a Provisional Government. It was said this result would show a majority of some hundreds over the party. Mr. Tait said he intended being present at the meeting, and I gave him a copy of the Proclamation, with the understanding that he would have it read on the occasion. Mr. Hallet was decided in his opinion that the English-speaking people would now eagerly turn out to put down the émeute. *The other two gentlemen agreed with him* that the people were not disposed to tolerate any longer the rule of that party, but feared the result of any appeal to arms would be certain ruin to men of property, whose crops, stock, &c., the French would be sure to destroy. They admitted, at the same time, that there would be no other course open if the French insisted upon establishing their Provisional Government."

[Messrs. Tait and McKay, in the following words, afterwards denied having counselled as above:—

"We beg, through the medium of your journal ('New Nation'), to declare to the public, in the most emphatic terms, that this assertion of our having counselled an appeal to arms is a downright falsehood. If Col. Dennis has the smallest particle of sound brains, he must remember that we, on the contrary, pressed upon him, in the clearest and most express terms, to abandon the idea of an appeal to arms, advising him, moreover, that a resort to arms would be nothing but madness, and insisting upon his leaving the Settlement forthwith and remaining quiet. Though always inclined to give hospitality to strangers, and though we had already done so to Col. Dennis, under other circumstances, we felt ourselves bound at this juncture to refuse him hospitality, knowing his hare-brained design. We half-breeds feel it very keenly that strangers, after having endeavoured to bring ruin on our country, should try to blacken our character before the public by attributing to us acts and intentions of which they themselves alone are guilty.

"We are, Sir, faithfully yours,

"ROBERT TAIT,
"JAMES MCKAY."]

RECORD RESUMED.—"The interview at Mr. Hallet's over, Mr. Tait drove me down to the town of Winnipeg. I found Dr. Schultz and the rest of the loyal party in the village in a condition of much anxiety in regard to the immediate future. The French party had a day or two previously pointed two six-pounder guns on Dr. Schultz's house, and the men stood with

port fires lit, ready to fire into his premises, in consequence of the Doctor's refusal to hand over to Riel's possession the provisions in his charge, belonging to the Canadian Government. Riel, however, thought better of it; and, finding the Doctor was not to be intimidated, withdrew the guns."

[Strange to say, there is a difference of opinion as to whether the guns, as stated above, were really pointed at Dr. Schultz's house. Some say they were, while others state that they were not. It seems, improbable, however, that a number of men would be ready to sacrifice their lives and their property for the sake of protecting a few barrels of pork, worth a few hundred dollars, unless, as it has been said since, it was the principle of the thing. There is no doubt whatever that the Schultz party made the provisions an excuse to form a nucleus for the English settlers to gather around in the expected rising against the French; and it was probably thought, should the latter make a demonstration against the defenders of the provisions, that it would result in arousing the English settlers to arms.—AUTHOR.]

"Public feeling was in a very excited state. Both the printing offices had been seized and were in possession of Riel's party. Mr. Grant, however, of my office, aided by a number of other Canadian gentlemen, made a lot of manuscript copies [of what ?] which were distributed during the afternoon and evening—some being despatched to Prairie Portage, and others posted up in the town of Winnipeg. * * * I learned that Major Boulton, of Mr. Hart's surveying staff, has been in communication

with these *gentlemen; that men had been enrolled and had commenced to drill at several places in the Settlement. Both these gentlemen (Mr. Ross and Rev. Mr. Black) had previously given proof of a strong desire to assist in bringing in and establishing the Government, their opinion agreeing with those previously expressed; and, furthermore, having had the assurance from Mr. William Dease, who represented the loyal French, at whose house I spent a couple of hours last evening on my way to Fort Garry, that over ninety men of that party could be relied on to fight alongside of the loyal English and Scotch for the establishment of order, I concluded it to be a duty, under my Commission, to make the call, satisfied that there was every prospect that it would be generally responded to. I may say here that, in answer to my question, Mr. Dease informed me that he did not think the reliable men in Riel's party would exceed three hundred in number. Under the conviction that the insurgents would seize upon the Stone Fort so soon as my arrival in the Settlement and the nature of my orders became known, I proceeded on to that point, arriving about six o'clock, p.m. A guard was raised for the night, through the exertion of the clergyman last named, together with a few other loyal people who sent messengers through this part of the Settlement. The locality, considering the short notice, turned out very well, the parish of St. Peter's particularly, in which the people consist, for the most part, of civilized and christianized Indians, under the Revs. Archdeacon Cowley and

* Bishop, Archdeacon McLean, Mr. James Ross, Rev. Mr. Black.

Mr. Cochrane, and who acknowledge Henry Prince as their Chief, were prompt in responding. By the morning, there were about 120 men in the Fort, a majority of whom came from below. A number of young men—some forty in all—had been in the habit, for several days back, of assembling for drill in one of the Company's stores here, the drill instructor being Mr. Wm. Durie, a military school cadet, also of Mr. Hart's surveying party, who had been working in this part of the Settlement. These men also had remained in the Fort for the night. I read the Proclamation, having assembled those in the Fort for the purpose, which was well received, and also explained the object of the present call upon them, and desired that they should make the same known as widely as possible. Despatched a messenger to Mr. Hart and party to cease surveying operations and join me to assist in organizing. Reported my arrival and occupation of the Stone Fort to Governor MacTavish, mentioning the object of such occupation and enclosing him also a copy of my Commission. Communication with the officer named is with much difficulty effected, as no letters are permitted, if known, to pass in or out of Fort Garry. Some twenty-one Canadians reported themselves in a body from the town of Winnipeg this evening, and enrolled their names. They tell me the Canadians in the town number about thirty, and are all anxious to serve. I have therefore instructed Dr. Lynch, a military school cadet, to enrol a company in Winnipeg, to be made up of Canadians and other men in the vicinity. As the Canadians are all more or less acquainted with drill, I directed

Dr. Lynch simply to organize, and then let the men remain quietly in their usual lodgings until further orders. Their presence there in that way, having fully instructed them to avoid being any cause of offence to the French, it seemed to me could be no cause of irritation; and the knowledge that they were there might tend to prevent any outrage on person or property of loyal people in the town."

We will have occasion to refer again to the report of Col. Dennis; but, in the meantime, will pass on to other matters regarding which it does not appear to make reference.

CHAPTER VI.

SHAWMAN AND THE SIOUX INDIANS—THE SETTLEMENT ALARMED AND ARMING—GOVERNOR MCDOUGALL TAKES POSSESSION OF RUPERT'S LAND AS PART OF THE DOMINION—FORT GARRY PILLAGED—SCOTT AND OTHERS ARRESTED—CANADIANS IN SCHULTZ'S HOUSE BESIEGED—AFTER PARLEY, THEIR SURRENDER AND IMPRISONMENT.

ON the 3rd December, a rumour was current in Red River that "Shawman," *alias* George Racette, jun., a French half-breed and desperate character, was on the way into the Settlement, at the head of eleven hundred Sioux Indians, to take part against the insurgents. This report was the more readily believed, as it was well known that Racette, before he left for the Plains, had been in frequent consultation with Dr. Schultz; and it was feared that he had been induced to raise the Sioux warriors, over whom he professed to have great influence. Racette, shortly before his departure for the Plains, had been heard repeatedly to threaten that he could and would bring back with him a large enough band of Indians to lay waste the whole Settlement. These threats, at the time, were not regarded in a serious light, and no steps were taken to have the rascal punished for using them; but, when the report was brought in that the Sioux were actually on the way, the words of Racette were remembered, and consequently caused a good deal of anxiety. This man "Shawman"

had been known for several years as a reckless and desperate character. At one time a good hunter and trader, he allowed the influence of liquor to ruin him, until he became worthless and a man not respected amongst his fellows. No merchant would trust him with goods to trade with the Indians, knowing that the proceeds were almost sure to be spent in liquor. Whenever he arrived in the Settlement, it was certain to be the signal for all the worst characters in the neighbourhood to assemble round him, and then came several days—perhaps weeks—of drinking, fighting and rioting, to the terror and annoyance of the peaceable inhabitants of the place. In this way Racette gave a great deal of trouble to the authorities, who were obliged on several occasions to punish him; and for this reason he was a sworn enemy of the Hudson's Bay Company, and therefore adopted by the Schultz party as a friend to their cause. This, strange to say, was the man whom Col. Dennis frequently employed or consulted while carrying on his surveying operations; and this also is pretty well known to be the same individual who is referred to as follows, in the report of 27th October, to Mr. McDougall:—

"I may say further that I sent * * *, a man of influence among the French half-breeds, but favourable to our cause, up to the French Settlement on the 'White Horse Plains,' on the Assiniboine, yesterday, to use his influence to prevent the people there from coming down to help the insurgents. He returned to-day, and the result of his mission is given in the annexed paper.

"J. S. Dennis."

When it was known that such a character as the one we have described was in the confidence of Col. Dennis and the Schultz party, is it to be wondered at if people dreaded, with feelings of indignation, the employment of such a man? It is well known now that Racette did go out amongst the Plain Sioux and endeavour to excite them; but, fortunately, he found that his boasted influence over them was not equal to that of other and better disposed traders in the neighbourhood. The Sioux were kept quiet through the instrumentality of the majority of the plain hunters, who saw with dismay what would be the result of bringing the cruel savages upon the scene of action.* Whether Racette acted upon his own responsibility, or at the instigation of others, is a matter of conjecture; but it is quite certain that Col. Dennis had no hand whatever in the matter, and did not by any means authorize "Shawman" to tamper with the Indians. There is no doubt the man was foisted upon Col. Dennis as an influential man, and on that account he probably was used in obtaining information for the surveying operations; and this is only one of the many cases where both Mr. McDougall and Col. Dennis were misled by the men who professed to be their friends in the Settlement. When the news arrived that the Sioux were on the war path, a number of the townspeople in Winnipeg, knowing that if they came they would be no respecters of persons, met together for the purpose of

* The Sioux are the same blood-thirsty tribe of savages who, in 1861-2, committed those dreadful massacres in the State of Minnesota—at the very mention of which, to this day, the frontier settlers shudder with horror.

forming a company to act in defence of the town. About 24 names were enrolled at the first meeting, and subsequently a number of others joined, until the company amounted to over fifty men. On the 4th, further intelligence was received (which afterwards proved false) that the Sioux, in large numbers, were quite near the Settlement; and, consequently, a good deal of excitement was caused thereby. All the old and new guns in the town were raked together and placed in the hands of the enrolled men; and it was rather amusing to see the stand of arms thus collected. Old-fashioned rifles, that apparently had not been used for years—shot-guns, which looked as if they would burst with the first discharge, and other fire-arms equally as bad—were amongst the number, but it did not seem to make any difference to the impromptu soldiers, so long as they had something in their hands possessing a lock, stock and barrel.

We will now leave the Indian excitement for the present, to take a look at other matters which were going on at the same time; and, in the first place, would beg our readers to take another glance at the report of Col. Dennis:—

"Sunday, Dec. 4th.

"Received a note from Dr. Schultz this morning, in which he states that a number of the enrolled Canadians and others collected at his house last evening—*it is presumed on his request*—anticipating a possible attack *on his property* and the Government provisions in his charge; that, in the course of the night, bodies of men of the French party repeatedly made their appearance around

the outside of his house and premises, evidently inviting attack from the party inside; that they repeatedly adjourned for liquor to O'Lone's saloon; that they were there harangued by Riel;—finally, that they came to the front of his house, went through various manœuvres, detaching parties to the rear, &c., and then went off to the Fort, leaving the Dr. and his party between one and two o'clock, a.m., unmolested. From the occurrences of last night, it is evident to me that a very critical condition of affairs exists at Winnipeg. A single shot, which may be fired by either party, would precipitate possible deplorable results."

It is quite evident from the above that the Schultz party directly disobeyed the orders of Col. Dennis to remain quiet, and it is inconceivable how they induced so many men to congregate together as they did in a lath and plaster house, a mere shell in the way of defence.

The unfortunate provision affair was not only again brought up by Dr. Schultz as a reason for assembling the men, but also that which must not be lost sight of—*the protection of his own property.* And now one word in regard to the men who thus imperilled their lives for the sake of another man's property. We wish to be explicit at the same time in distinguishing two distinct parties. The Schultz party consisted of a few members; while there were quite a number of Canadians concerned in the unfortunate affairs we are describing. The first were composed of those who were evidently acting on the principle of self-interest; the latter were men who considered that the honour of their native country was at

stake—who, in fact, believing the Queen's Proclamation as well as the Commission to Col. Dennis to be genuine, offered themselves to do what no doubt they considered to be their duty. On this account, while we condemn the attitude they assumed at the time, we respect those Canadians who, *from a sense of duty*, enrolled themselves as soldiers in defence of their country's honour. It is quite evident they were misled, as many others were, regarding the actual position of affairs; *and who was to blame therefor?* It was now reported that Dr. Schultz's house was barricaded inside, and that the men within intended to make a stand against the French. Riel consequently placed guards around the house to watch their movements. We must say that Col. Dennis appears to have not been directly responsible for the course pursued by the Canadians in Winnipeg; for, in the first place, he distinctly ordered them to remain in their lodgings until further orders, not to give any cause of offence to the French; and then, after he found that they had assembled in a body together, and by that means offering a sort of menace towards the insurgents, he ordered them to withdraw, as will be seen by the following memo. and letter:—

"*Memorandum of Orders for the Enrolled Canadians in the Town of Winnipeg:*—

"These men are not in a position where they can be supported by any force of which I am at present aware, should they be attacked by the rioters under Riel, which seems to me likely to occur. I am convinced the object

of the latter is now to provoke them beyond endurance, and so precipitate a collision in which he would try to show that the Canadians were the aggressors, with the hope that, in such case, he might obtain the aid of the rest of the French party. *I have therefore to request that the Canadians will withdraw from the village and come down to the Scotch Settlement*, where I will meet them and establish them in defensible quarters, in which they will serve as an outpost, and under circumstances where they can be readily reinforced, if necessary.

"They had better come down this evening and report to me, or to Major Boulton, at the Rev. Mr. Black's.

"J. S. DENNIS,
"*Lieut. Colonel.*"

"STONE FORT, Dec. 4th, 1869.

"Dr. SCHULTZ, Winnipeg:

"MY DEAR DR. SCHULTZ,—From the occurrences of last night, the anxiety of Riel is evident to have the Canadians draw the first blood, which latter would be anything but desirable just now. I have come to the conclusion that they must be withdrawn, and have therefore *ordered it by bearer*. I shall go up and meet them at the Scotch Church, and establish them there as an outpost, under Major Boulton. I see no other course for you to pursue but to send Mrs. Schultz to a friend's house, as you propose. Shut up your premises, and let the property take its chance. As to the Government provisions, should the guard be still over them, I shall not, as representing the Government, require them to remain

there any longer. They had better, therefore, lock up the place and leave. I would be glad to have them come down with the others and enrol in the force at the outpost; but will leave that to themselves. Were my force organized, I would not allow Canadians to be used as you have been there; but I am not at all in a position to act, and regret to say things move but slowly here. *You speak of enthusiasm. I have not seen it yet with anybody* but 'Prince's' men.

"In haste, truly yours,

"J. S. DENNIS."

In reply to which we quote the following from the letter of Major Boulton to Col. Dennis, dated 4th Dec. :—

"Lieutenant-Colonel DENNIS:

"SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that I have received your communication containing memo. to the Canadians. *Dr. Lynch*, *Mr. Snow*, *Dr. Schultz*, and myself, have consulted together and have come to the conclusion that, under the circumstances (that we have 70 men and 65 good arms on the premises), we have a strong position and could resist successfully a strong attack. It is now nine o'clock, and the men are all posted and the rebels know it. There are no men moving about and no indications of any attack, and a retreat would or might inspire the rebels with more confidence than they appear at present to possess.

"Your memo. to the Canadians says, '*they had better come down this evening*,' which apparently leaves us the

opportunity of using our own judgment under existing circumstances, &c., &c., &c.

"C. W. BOULTON."

From the above it appears that Messrs. Lynch, Snow, Schultz and Boulton, took the responsibility of remaining in the house, deliberately construing Col. Dennis's orders to the contrary, so as to meet their own views of the matter. One thing is worthy of notice in Col. Dennis's letter to Dr. Schultz, namely, the clause where he says—"You speak of enthusiasm—I have not seen it yet with anybody but 'Prince's' men."

This evidently shows that Dr. Schultz had been endeavouring to persuade Col. Dennis that the people of the Settlement were enthusiastic over Mr. McDougall's coming government and ready to assist in bringing it in; whereas it will be seen by our readers that there was nothing of the kind. It was statements such as this, from the so-called "Friends of Canada," which evidently misled both Mr. McDougall and Col. Dennis, and induced them, no doubt, to pursue the ruinous course they did.

We must not forget Mr. McDougall, however, at Pembina; and, in order to see what he was doing during the occurrences we have been describing, we take the following extract from his letter of 2nd Dec., to Hon. Joseph Howe: "Yesterday evening, *after finding that the road was clear*, I took with me Messrs. Richards and Provencher, and four others of my party, and proceeded to the Hudson's Bay Company's Post, near Pembina, and, in order to execute on British soil, and so far in a public manner, the Proclamation and other documents which are to take

effect within the Territory. I have resolved to do no *official* act on American soil, and have made arrangements to occupy the Hudson's Bay Company's Post, and, if necessary, repel by force the attack of any such party as the one that drove us from it on the 3rd of November. It is surrounded by a high fence; and, with a little improvement, may be defended against a considerable force by a few resolute men with breech-loading rifles. Fortunately, we have with us a few such rifles and a small supply of ammunition. We number about a dozen, and are all good shots. I shall not openly take this position and attitude unless I hear from Col. Dennis that he has a force in the field, and is thus giving Riel and his party something to do at Fort Garry. In the meantime, we go to and from the 'Post,' well armed and prepared against surprise."

The above description is not only ridiculous, but laughable; and, unless we knew that Mr. McDougall actually wrote it, we would be very much inclined to doubt its authenticity. It is nevertheless true that, on the evening of the 1st December, Mr. McDougall did, in the presence of one or two of his own party, proclaim to the vast prairie that it, as part of Rupert's Land, under the British North America Act, and so forth, had been transferred to the Dominion of Canada, when it had not. There were not many there, however, to believe him, so that his proclaiming the falsity did not result in any serious harm. On the evening of the 4th, the French committed their first decided act of pillage on the Hudson's Bay Company's stores. It appears that, being in need of "pemmican"

and ball, they made a demand on Dr. Cowan for the same, but that gentleman refused to give them what they wanted, the consequence being that a party of the French in the Fort broke open the doors of the warehouse and helped themselves. That same day Mr. James McKay, in company with Mr. Nolin, one of the French councillors, went down to the Stone Fort with the "List of Rights," which they had orders to lay before Col. Dennis and ascertain whether they could be granted by Mr. McDougall. Col. Dennis mentions this fact in his report as follows :—

"Towards evening, Mr. James McKay and Mr. Nolin, a French half-breed, arrived, bringing a copy of the French "List of Rights"—the first I had seen—and stating that their object was, as individuals, anxious to see peace restored, to ascertain how far I could put them in a position to assure the French party that these rights would be granted by Mr. McDougall. I explained to them that I could give no assurance whatever; that I could only say that some of those 'Rights,' as they were called, I had reason to believe it was the Governor's intention to have embodied in his policy; but that others of them could not, in my opinion, be allowed."

Riel was not satisfied, however, with this answer, and thus ended the last attempt on the part of the French at sending a delegation to either Mr. McDougall or Col. Dennis. The ranks of the French were by this time filling up rapidly, chiefly on account of the attitude taken by the party in Schultz's house, and the likelihood of a fight between the two sections of the Settlement. About

this time the "List of Rights" in printed form was circulated amongst the English settlers, in the following form, which, it will be seen, differs somewhat from the Bill presented to the delegates on the 1st December :—

"List of Rights.

"1. That the people have the right to elect their own Legislature.

"2. That the Legislature have the power to pass all laws local to the Territory, over the veto of the Executive, by a two-thirds vote.

"3. That no Act of the Dominion Parliament (local to the Territory) be binding on the people until sanctioned by the Legislature of the Territory.

"4. That all Sheriffs, Magistrates, Constables, School Commissioners, &c., be elected by the people.

"5. A Free Homestead and Pre-emption Land Law.

"6. That a portion of the public lands be appropriated to the benefit of Schools, the building of Bridges, Roads and Public Buildings.

"7. That it be guaranteed to connect Winnipeg by Rail, with the nearest line of Railroad, within a term of five years; the land grant to be subject to the Local Legislature.

"8. That, for the term of four years, all Military, Civil, and Municipal expenses be paid out of the Dominion funds.

"9. That the Military be composed of the inhabitants now existing in the Territory.

"10. That the English and French languages be com-

mon in the Legislature and Courts, and that all Public Documents and Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages.

"11. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the English and French languages.

"12. That treaties be concluded and ratified between the Dominion Government and the several tribes of Indians in the Territory, to ensure peace on the frontier.

"13. That we have a fair and full representation in the Canadian Parliament.

"14. That all privileges, customs and usages, existing at the time of the transfer, be respected.

"All the above articles have been severally discussed and adopted by the French and English representatives, without a dissenting voice, as the conditions upon which the people of Rupert's Land enter into Confederation. The French representatives then proposed, in order to secure the above rights, that a delegation be appointed and sent to Pembina to see Mr. McDougall and ask him if he could guarantee these rights by virtue of his Commission; and, if he could do so, that then the French people would join to a man to escort Mr. McDougall into his government seat; but, on the contrary, if Mr. McDougall could not guarantee such rights, the delegates request him to remain where he is, or return, till the rights be guaranteed by Act of the Canadian Parliament. The English representatives refused to appoint delegates to go to Pembina to consult with Mr. McDougall, stating they had no authority to do so from their constituents,

upon which the council was dissolved. The meeting, at which the above resolutions were adopted, was held at Fort Garry, on Wednesday, Dec. 1st, 1869.

"Winnipeg, December 4th, 1869."

The effect caused by the distribution of the above (according to Col. Dennis's report) was to entirely frustrate the attempt to raise a force amongst the English settlers to attack the French. We will give the Colonel's own statement regarding the matter :—

"I expressed a conviction that some agency was at work which had produced a change in the feelings of the people; and the gentlemen present, agreeing with me, remarked that it might probably be accounted for by the distribution through the parishes during yesterday of the French 'List of Rights.' It was stated that, up to the time of dissemination of this document, no one but themselves knew what the demands of the malcontents were; and now that they had been published, some of them proving reasonable in their character, and the whole accompanied by expressions of a willingness to send a deputation to Pembina to treat with the Lieutenant-Governor, it might easily be conceived that the effect on the rest of the people would be to make them less jealous of French domination and more hopeful of seeing peace brought about by other means than by a resort to arms."

The fact of the matter was, that no great desire was felt on the part of the English settlers to attack their French brethren, with whom they had lived for so many years in terms of amity; and it was only the representations of

what may be called outsiders that succeeded for a time in arousing them. This state of feeling was not from a want of loyalty on their part, but because they were not clear as to the real position of affairs, and could not see why they should be called upon to fight in order to cram a distasteful policy down their neighbours' throats. Col. Dennis found this out when it was too late. Cowardice has been repeatedly ascribed as the reason why the English settlers did not rise in answer to the call of Col. Dennis: see the following extract from a communication sent Mr. McDougall on the 8th Dec. :—

"However, if the people were willing, they could muster arms enough to put down the half-breeds, but they won't do it. The fact of the matter is, *they are cowards, one and all of them.* Although they are my countrymen, I must speak the truth about them."

We can assure our readers that such is not the case: the English or Scotch settlers are no cowards; but they felt, as any other people would do, a repugnance (which strangers could not participate in) at shedding the blood of people allied to them by ties not only of consanguinity, but also long-standing friendship. Efforts were now being made by several gentlemen for the purpose of inducing the party in Schultz's house to disperse, in which, however, they were not successful, as the house was now so closely watched that no person was allowed either ingress or egress to or from the place, and matters began to look very serious indeed. It was reported, also, that the party thus besieged were in want of both provisions and water.

About this time (6th December), the French arrested and imprisoned Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. A. McArthur and Mr. Wm. Hallet. Mr. Scott, it appears, had been one of the party assembled in Schultz's house, but had afterwards left; and no other reason for his arrest is known, except his having enrolled under Col. Dennis. Mr. McArthur, was, it is said, confined on suspicion of acting secretly on behalf of Mr. McDougall; and Mr. Hallet, for his activity in assisting and advising Col. Dennis.

On the 7th of December, Riel harangued his men in front of Schultz's house; and, in the course of his speech, he produced a copy of Col. Dennis's Commission, which he read aloud, and then, throwing it on the ground, he trampled it under his feet. The number of the French on guard in the town and around the besieged house, was much larger than usual, on the same day that Riel trampled Dennis's Commission; and this gave rise to the report that an attack was about to be made against the Canadians. Upon hearing this, several of the townspeople, comprising most of the merchants and others in business, met together in order to see what was best to be done, under the circumstances, to prevent blood being spilt. At the meeting it was determined that all should proceed in a body to the Doctor's house, and endeavour to persuade him to leave the premises if possible, as he was endangering the safety of the whole settlement, by the position he had assumed. And should that fail, they resolved upon placing themselves between the French and those in the building, in case of an attack by the former, hoping thereby to be able to stay hostilities. Before this, however,

Mr. Bannatyne, in company with Mr. John Burke, an English settler, and one Baptiste Morin, a French half-breed (who had not up to that time joined Riel), went to Fort Garry to see if an arrangement could be made between Riel and the Canadians. Riel, however, had refused to listen to any other proposition, than a surrender of the whole party. When the deputation from the town were on their way to see Schultz, they perceived a large body of men with Riel at their head, coming from the direction of Fort Garry. On this, the mediators hastened their steps, and instead of going towards Schultz's house, they passed on to meet Riel. Mr. Bannatyne, who was spokesman for the party, informed Riel of their mission, and asked to be allowed to see Schultz. Riel, thereupon, said he was willing to agree to this, and stated that if the party would surrender, he would not attack the house, and the lives of every person inside would be safe; and, at the same time, asked who would volunteer to carry that message to the Canadians. Mr. Bannatyne then said that he would go, and immediately, in company with another of the party from the town, started on the mission, and, as soon as they had entered the house, they had a consultation with those inside. Dr. Schultz wished to make certain conditions in regard to the surrender, which Mr. Bannatyne told him to put in writing, and that he would hand them to Riel, and bring back his answer. Riel would not entertain the Doctor's propositions, and gave the party fifteen minutes to surrender. Mr. Bannatyne, therefore, once more entered the house and stated the case as it stood. At last Dr. O'Donnell, who had his

wife and children with him in the house, spoke out and said that, in his opinion, they ought to give in; that they had got into a trap, and the best thing they could do was to get out of it; and he for one was willing, and thereupon signed the terms of surrender. As soon as Dr. O'Donnell had written his name down, the others followed one by one, until all had signed.

In the meantime, there were from two to three hundred armed French half-breeds, as well as a number of lookers-on, around and outside the building; and it is said that a couple of mounted cannon (six pounders) were drawn outside the walls of Fort Garry, ready to be used in case of an assault upon the besieged premises.

When all those in the house had signed, and the surrender handed to Riel, he said that there were two signatures not on the list which ought to be there—and which he insisted upon having. These were the names of James Mulligan and Charles Garrett. A guard from the French party was therefore sent to hunt up those two men; and in a short time they returned with the individuals they had been in search of. As soon as this had been done, the prisoners were taken out and marched to Fort Garry; and the following ladies, who, during the siege, had nobly resolved upon remaining by the side of their husbands, also insisted upon accompanying them to Fort Garry.

The following are the names of the ladies:—Mrs. Schultz, Mrs. Mair, Mrs. O'Donnell; and as the first named lady was ill, probably from the excitement of the past few days, a sleigh was procured, and Dr. Schultz himself drew her along in it, behind the rest of the pris-

oners. When they reached Fort Garry, Mr. J. H. MacTavish, accountant in the Hudson's Bay Company service, kindly offered to give up his private quarters for the use of the married men and their families, and thus made things more comfortable for the ladies.

As the French marched into Fort Garry with the prisoners, they fired off a volley into the air, with their small arms, and it is said the spent bullets came down like rain immediately afterwards.

The following is a copy of the terms of surrender, with the signatures attached :—

"Communication received this 7th day of December, 1869. Dr. Schultz and men are hereby ordered to give up their arms and surrender themselves. Their lives will be spared should they comply. In case of refusal, all the English half-breeds and other natives, women and children, are at liberty to depart unmolested.

"Louis Riel.

"Fort Garry, 7th December, 1869.

"The surrender will be accepted at, or 15 minutes after, the order."

Joseph Lynch, M.D.	George Fortney.
John Schultz, M.D.	Wm. Graham.
Arthur Hamilton.	Wm. Nimmons.
G. D. McVicar.	Wm Kitson.
R. P. Meade.	John Ferguson.
Henry Woodington.	Wm. Spice.
W. J. Allen.	Thos. Lusted.
Thomas Langman.	James Stewart.

D. U. Campbell.
John O'Donnell, M.D.
W. F. Hyman.
James Dawson.
W. J. Davis.
J. B. Haines.
H. Werghtman.
L. W. Archibald.
C. E. Palmer.
Geo. Bubar.
Mathew Davis.
A. Wright.
P. McArthur.
Robert R. Smith.
James C. Kent.
J. M. Coombs.
A. R. Chisholm.
John Eccles.
John Ivy.
F. G. Mugridge.
Geo. Nicol.
Geo. Millar.
Jas. H. Ashdown.
A. W. Graham.
D. Cameron.
J. H. Stocks.
James Mulligan.
Charles Garret.
T. Franklin.
45 persons in all.

CHAPTER VII.

DECLARATION OF THE INSURGENTS—SNOW AND DR. BOWN FORCED TO LEAVE THE SETTLEMENT—FAILURE OF THE ATTEMPT TO FREE THE PRISONERS—LETTERS OF BISHOP MACHRAY, HON. JOSEPH HOWE AND COL. DENNIS.

IT may be imagined that the events described in the foregoing chapter caused a great deal of excitement amongst the people living in the neighbourhood where they took place. Business was entirely put a stop to, and the settlers from other parts of the Settlement evaded the town altogether. Several of the townspeople, immediately after the surrender, collected all the provisions, and even delicacies, which could be procured on short notice, and took them down to the Fort for the use of the prisoners. Mr. Snow, road superintendent, who had not been captured in Schultz's house, owing to his having left it previous to the surrender, for the purpose of endeavouring to arrange terms with Riel, on behalf of the besieged party, made arrangements for a regular supply of provisions to be sent to the prisoners while they were confined in Fort Garry. Kind friends went about collecting reading matter for them in the shape of newspapers and books, which, however, had to pass through the hands of Riel before reaching them.

At first the capture of the Canadians was not looked upon as a serious matter (no blood having been shed in

accomplishing it), as it was generally believed that they would be kept in prison only for a few days, and then set at liberty; but as the days lengthened into weeks, and weeks into months, without there being any word of their release, it began to assume the appearance of tyranny more than anything else.

On the 8th December Riel issued the following, printed in English and French, which was freely circulated throughout the Settlement:—

"*Declaration of the people of Rupert's Land and the North-West.*

"Whereas it is admitted by all men, as a fundamental principle, that the public authority commands the obedience and respect of its subjects. It is also admitted that a people, when it has no government, is free to adopt one form of government in preference to another, to give or refuse allegiance to that which is proposed. In accordance with the above first principle, the people of this country had obeyed and respected that authority, to which the circumstances surrounding its infancy compelled it to be subject.

"A company of adventurers, known as the 'Hudson's Bay Company,' and invested with certain powers, granted by His Majesty (Charles II.), established itself in Rupert's Land and in the North-West Territory, for trading purposes only. This company, consisting of many persons, required a certain constitution; but, as there was a question of commerce only, their constitution was framed in reference thereto. Yet, since there was, at that time, no government to see to the interests of a people already

existing in the country, it became necessary for judicial affairs to have recourse to the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. This inaugurated that species of government, which, slightly modified by subsequent circumstances, ruled this country up to a recent date.

"Whereas that government, thus accepted, was far from answering to the wants of the people, and became more and more so as the population increased in numbers, and as the country was developed and commerce extended until the present day, when it commands a place amongst the colonies; and this people, ever actuated by the above mentioned principles, had generously supported the aforesaid government, and gave to it a faithful allegiance; when, contrary to the law of nations, in March, 1869, that said government surrendered and transferred to Canada all the rights which it had, or pretended to have, in this territory, by transactions with which the people were considered unworthy to be made acquainted; and whereas it is also generally admitted that a people is at liberty to establish any form of government it may consider suitable to its wants, as soon as the power to which it was subject abandons it, or attempts to subjugate it, without its consent, to a foreign power, and maintained that no right can be transferred to such foreign power. Now therefore—

"1st. We, the representatives of the people in council, assembled at Upper Fort Garry, on the 24th day of November, 1869, after having invoked the God of nations, relying on these fundamental moral principles, solemnly declare, in the names of our constituents, and in our own

names, before God and man, that, from the day on which the government, we had always respected, abandoned us, by transferring to a strange power the sacred authority confided to it, the people of Rupert's Land and the North-West became free and exempt from all allegiance to the said government.

"2nd. That we refuse to recognize the authority of Canada, which pretends to have a right to coerce us, and impose upon us a despotic form of government, still more contrary to our rights and interests, as British subjects, than was that government to which we had subjected ourselves through necessity, up to a recent date.

"3rd. That by sending an expedition, on the 1st November, ult., charged to drive back Mr. William McDougall and his companions, coming, in the name of Canada, to rule us with the rod of despotism, without a previous notification to that effect, we have but acted conformably to that sacred right, which commands every citizen to offer energetic opposition to prevent his country being enslaved.

"4th. That we continue, and shall continue, to oppose, with all our strength, the establishing of the Canadian authority in our country under the announced form. And in case of persistence on the part of the Canadian Government to enforce its obnoxious policy upon us by force of arms, we protest beforehand against such an unjust and unlawful course; and we declare the said Canadian Government responsible before God and men for the innumerable evils which may be caused by so unwarrantable a course. Be it known, therefore, to the

world in general, and to the Canadian Government in particular, that as we have always, heretofore, successfully defended our country in frequent wars with the neighbouring tribes of Indians, who are now on friendly relations with us, we are firmly resolved in future, not less than in the past, to repel all invasions from whatsoever quarter they may come.

"And, furthermore, we do declare and proclaim, in the name of the people of Rupert's Land and the North-West, that we have, on the said 24th November, 1869, above mentioned, established a provisional government, and hold it to be the only and lawful authority now in existence in Rupert's Land and the North-West, which claims the obedience and respect of the people.

"That, meanwhile, we hold ourselves in readiness to enter into such negotiations with the Canadian Government as may be favourable for the good government and prosperity of this people.

"In support of this declaration, relying on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge ourselves on oath, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour, to each other.

"Issued at Fort Garry, this 8th day of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

"JOHN BRUCE, *President.*
"LOUIS RIEL, *Secretary.*"

There are evident marks of Americanism in the above.

A guard of about forty men were despatched by Riel, immediately after the surrender of the Canadians, with

orders to occupy Pembina Post, and prevent Mr. McDougall, or any of his party, from entering it.

About this time, Mr. Snow, road superintendent, received two weeks' notice from Riel to arrange his business matters and leave the Settlement; and Dr. Bown, the editor of the "Nor-Wester," having left the town of Winnipeg in disguise, turned up at the Stone Fort, from which place (after the departure of Col. Dennis for Canada) he went farther into the interior, to a post called "Eagle's Nest," belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, where he remained during the balance of the winter, living most of the time at the expense of the very parties he had so long abused in his newspaper.

Soon after the surrender of the Canadian party, matters quieted down very rapidly, and a great many of the French half-breeds returned to their homes. In the meantime we will see what Col. Dennis was doing all this time in his capacity of "Conservator of the Peace;" and, judging from the following extracts taken from his report, it is quite plain that, although he did his best, in order to raise a force to rescue the party in Schultz's house, he was unsuccessful in his attempt.

"She (Mrs. Black) brought a verbal message from Dr. Schultz to me, as he told her he was afraid to trust a letter, to the effect that some forty Canadians were in a state of siege in his house; that they could not go out either to get food, wood or water, and begged for help. *This, it is clear, would not have occurred had my previous orders,* REPEATEDLY GIVEN, *for the Canadians to leave the town, been obeyed.* My force in the Settlement

was not as yet organized; and not having heard so far from Captain Webb, I felt that the crisis was one involving very great consequences.

"Thinking, however, on the moral effect of the object I had in view, should the Canadians be captured, it seemed a duty to relieve them, if possible; and believing, as Mrs. Black said, the French in the town were not more than fifty in number; that on the appearance of a considerable body of men coming up from the direction of the Lower Fort, the French guard would fall back on Fort Garry, and so leave time for the besieged party to come out and return with us; and that the relief could be effected in this way without necessarily having a collision, I determined on that course.

"About forty men of the company, the head quarters of which are at Stone Fort, were drilling at the time, and expressed their readiness to go, and I then got a sleigh and drove up the Settlement to gather, if possible, sixty additional volunteers from among the enrolled men, believing that I should have little or no difficulty in getting that number in St. Andrews. I found, however, that the requisite force would not be forthcoming. Indeed there appeared to me to be an entire absence of the ardour which existed previously, and it became evident that the project for the relief of the Canadians must fall to the ground.

"Sent off at 3 a.m. a verbal message, to be conveyed, if possible, to the besieged party, telling them of my inability to relieve them, and that. if obliged to surrender, they must only get the best terms they could."

And then, after hearing of the capture of the party, he says, "As regards this unfortunate affair, there was no force with which the party could have been relieved, and, the French party being in overpowering numbers, there was no alternative but to surrender. Indeed it was an act of folly their remaining there to be made prisoners of, *as I have reason to believe they could have made their escape a few hours previously without danger or difficulty.*"

This seems to prove conclusively that the object of Schultz and Lynch must have been to bring on a general fight, and that, after all, the *provisions* and property was a secondary object altogether. And at the same time it is strange, when we remember that, before Schultz assembled the men in his house, he removed a large portion of his own goods to distant parts of the Settlement.

On the 8th December, Col. Dennis received the following from Bishop Machray, which throws a good deal of light on the feeling of settlers generally at the time :—

"Bishop's Court, Dec. 6th, 1869.

"Dear Colonel Dennis—I grieve to say that the state of things is assuming daily a graver aspect. I am greatly disappointed at the manifestations of loyalty and a determination to support the government of Mr. McDougall, on the part of the English population. Instead of a breaking down of the force of the insurgents, I feel certain, from my observations at Fort Garry to-day, and from information from Mr. MacTavish, and others I can fully rely on, that over 600 men are now in arms, and they are

well armed. I see no reason to depend on want of courage or determination on the part of these men. In addition to this strong exhibition of force, there is a belief, apparently on good authority, of a determination to avenge loss of life, if they are attacked, by house to house massacring, or at any rate, by individual assassination.

"I feel, therefore, that success in an attack with such forces as you can bring together, with nothing of the common action the insurgents have, is very problematical, and that the warfare is likely to be such, that a victory will only be less fatal to the Settlement and the interest of the Canadian Government than a defeat.

"You must not suppose that this comes from one who is timorous; though I never said it before, I went to the first meeting of the Council of Assinniboia, prepared to recommend a forcible putting down of the insurrection, and when you came in I hoped that the exhibition of force would be sufficient; but the force of the insurgents has only grown with opposition, and is now, I believe, quite a match for all that can be brought together against them. I would earnestly advise, therefore, the giving up of any idea of attacking the French position at Fort Garry at present, and also any idea of seizing, by stealth, on any rebel. Put away such counsel, for a time at least. I feel that the result to be anticipated would be very disastrous. I see everything to be gained by delay; at any rate there would be some opportunity, perhaps, of bringing about some direct communication between Governor McDougall and the disaffected people. I think you should on every account bring that about. *Further,*

it would be well not to act till you ascertain clearly the mind of the Canadian Ministry and people, on the way of settling this affair, AND I THINK SOMETHING IS DUE TO THE PEOPLE FROM GOVERNOR MCDOUGALL. I for one am at this moment perfectly ignorant of any detail of the character or policy of this government. Personally I do not care for this. I am not only fervently loyal to the Queen, but I have unquestioning confidence in the management of Canada. I know all will be right; *still there is not less a great want,* a very conciliatory attitude is what is wanted from Governor McDougall, and a plain setting forth of how the government is to be conducted, meeting, as far as possible, any of the wishes expressed by the disaffected persons, and perhaps referring others to Canada, but promising a generous consideration of the whole grievances.

"This may not be altogether palatable, but the crisis is a grave one for Canada, and much wisdom is needed. I would not so write did I not feel certain that, if the present numbers of insurgents keep up, an attack is not feasible, and did I not also feel that some attempt should be made by those having authority and knowledge to enter into explanations with them before making any attack. *The late Government of Assinniboia could not do this, for it had no information, all that could be done was to counsel loyal obedience;* but at this time something more is called for than that.

"With kindest regards,

"I am, &c.,

"R. RUPERT'S LAND."

The above letter needs no comment; it clearly shows that Mr. McDougall, instead of waiting for orders from Ottawa, *as he had been instructed to do*, went deliberately to work to proclaim war on the people, upon the strength of his illegal Proclamation and Commission to Dennis, and that, too, without any attempt on his part to seek for a more peaceful solution of the difficulty with the disaffected persons. It shows also the absurdity of all the buncombe asserted by Mr. McDougall, regarding the complicity of the Hudson's Bay Company, for it is plainly acknowledged by Bishop Machray (a member of the Council of Assinniboia) that the authorities had no information on which to base their actions in the matter. And it is quite perceptible that, had the Hudson's Bay Company made a call upon the English settlers to put down the French, it would most likely have not been answered; and, if it had, Mr. McDougall would, in all probability, have come in to reign over a country laid waste, or else a settlement (from the mode of warfare, spoken of by Bishop Machray, as likely to have been carried on) of assassinators and murderers.

We will now refer once more to the report of Col. Dennis, and see the great change which had come over the "*spirit of his dream*:"—

"Having become convinced that it is useless to entertain any expectation of being enabled to get a reliable force with which to put down the party in arms, decided to abandon the call upon the English-speaking people, and take advantage of the disposition of the French, as expressed by them, to send delegates to the Lieutenant Gov-

ernor, and so withdraw from a situation which the change in sentiment, during the last few days, has rendered a false one. I, therefore, this morning, issued a notification marked 'P,' sending a manuscript copy early in the day to Mr. Bannatyne, at Winnipeg, with a note (see copy marked K 5), asking him to lay it before the French council."

That same evening (9th), Mr. Bannatyne received the note mentioned by Col. Dennis, which read as follows:—

"LOWER FORT GARRY, Dec. 9th, 1869.

"A. G. B. BANNATYNE, ESQ.,

"*Winnipeg*:

"DEAR MR. BANNATYNE,—I hope the enclosed will satisfy the French party of my desire not to see the country made desolate upon a question, which, I am convinced, admits of a peaceful solution.

"Be good enough to make it known to the parties in arms. If I can contribute in any way to bring about a settlement, I shall be glad to do so. The paper will be printed and distributed to day.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Yours, &c.

"J. S. DENNIS."

We leave it to our readers to judge how far Col. Dennis was sincere in writing as above. For when it is remembered that, only a few days previous, he had been doing his utmost to raise a force amongst the settlers, for the purpose of burning and destroying, it must seem

strange to find him writing immediately afterwards (when his warlike intentions had been frustrated), that he had no desire to see the country made desolate. The following is the paper referred to in the note to Mr. Bannatyne, and which was afterwards circulated throughout the Settlement by Col. Dennis, in printed form. It is known in the Settlement as the—

PEACE PROCLAMATION.

"LOWER FORT GARRY,
"RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.
"Dec. 9th, 1869.

"*To all whom it may concern:*

"By certain printed papers of late put in circulation by the French party, communication with the Lieutenant-Governor is indicated, with a view to laying before him alleged rights on the part of those now in arms. I think that course very desirable, and that it would lead to good results. Under the belief that the party in arms are sincere in their desire for peace, and feeling that to abandon, for the present, the call on the loyal to arms would, in view of such communication, relieve the situation of much embarrassment, and so contribute to bring about peace, and save the country from what will otherwise end in ruin and desolation, I now call on and order the loyal party in the North West Territories to cease further action under the appeal to arms made by me; and I call on the French party to satisfy the people of their sincerity, in wishing for a peaceful ending of all these troubles, by sending a deputation to the Lieutenant-Governor at Pembina, without any unnecessary delay.

"Given under my hand, at the Lower Fort Garry, this 9th day of December, 1869.

"J. S. DENNIS,
"*Lieut. and Conservator of the Peace,*
"*in and for the North-West Territories.*"

The issuing of the above resulted in nothing—nobody believed in it.

It may be interesting to our readers to ascertain the light in which the Canadian Government viewed the proceedings of Mr. McDougall and Col. Dennis, and on this account, we give below a few extracts from a letter written to Mr. McDougall, by the Hon. Joseph Howe, on the 24th of December :—

"As it would appear, from these documents, that you have used the Queen's name without her authority—attributed to Her Majesty acts which she has not yet performed—and organized an armed force within the Territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, without warrant or instructions, I am commanded to assure you that the grave occurrences, which you report, have occasioned here great anxiety. * * * * *
But as the organization, and use of such a force by you, was, under the circumstances, entirely illegal, the Governor General and Council cannot disguise from you the weight of responsibility you have incurred.

"Acting on the belief that the country would be quietly transferred with the general assent of the inhabitants, all the preparatory arrangements were made, as you were aware, in anticipation that on or about the 1st December,

the Territory would be surrendered by the Company to the Queen; and that thereupon Her Majesty would issue Her Proclamation fixing a day for the union of the country with Canada.

"The Proclamation, when officially communicated to you, would enable you under the Commission and authority given in anticipation of that event, to enter legally upon the appointed day, on the discharge of your official duties as Governor of the North-West.

"In the Commission issued on the 28th September, you were empowered to enter upon the duties of government only, "on, from and after the day to be named" in the Queen's Proclamation; and in the instructions handed to you with the Commission, you are directed to proceed to Fort Garry, and be ready to assume the government of the Territories on their actual transfer to Canada. * * * * *

"I wish I could inform you, that this report had entirely relieved the Governor General and Council from the anxiety already expressed. It is true that no blood had been shed up to the 6th, and you had not carried out your intention of occupying the stockade, near Pembina, with an armed party; but the proceedings of Col. Dennis, as reported by himself, are so reckless and extraordinary *that there can be no relief from solicitude here, while an officer so imprudent is acting under your authority.*"

"Had the inhabitants of Rupert's Land, on the breaking out of the disturbances, risen and put an end to them, or had Governor MacTavish organized a force to occupy his forts and maintain his authority, all would have been

well; and Riel and his people would have been responsible for any bloodshed or property destroyed. But Col. Dennis, with no legal authority, proceeds to seize the fort not in possession of the insurgents, but of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to garrison it with a mixed force of whites and Indians, and proposes to give battle to the insurgents, should a junction be formed with some forces which he has ordered to be drilled on the Assinniboine. He appears never to have thought that the moment war commenced, all the white inhabitants would be at the mercy of the Indians, by whom they are largely outnumbered, and divided as they would be, might be easily overpowered.

"It is impossible to read the Colonel's account of his attempt to persuade Judge Black to aid him in proclaiming martial law, without strong feelings of regret, that you should have been represented in the Settlement by a person of so little discretion. It is no wonder that Judge Black was 'frightened' at the proposal, as he must have known that Col. Dennis would have to answer, at the bar of justice, for every life lost by such an assumption of authority; and that the illegal seizure of an American citizen would at once provoke interference in the quarrel and lead to very serious complications.

"I have, &c.

"JOSEPH HOWE."

CHAPTER VIII.

ARRESTS CONTINUE — DEPARTURE OF COL. DENNIS — HON. MR. MCDOUGALL'S LETTER TO RIEL — HIS COMMUNICATION TO GOV. MACTAVISH — HON. MR. MCDOUGALL AND PARTY LEAVE PEMBINA.

RIEL and his party continued to arrest suspected persons, until they had over sixty prisoners in Fort Garry; and a search was also made by the French guard, in several houses, for arms. These precautions were said to be taken in order to prevent any attempted rescue of the men imprisoned. On the 10th December, the French provisional flag was hoisted for the first time in Fort Garry, amidst the shouts of the men assembled to witness it. The flag consisted of a white ground, on which was worked a representation of the *fleur de lis* and *shamrock* combined, the latter being in honor, it was said, of W. B. O'Donohue, a young man who, having thrown off the soutane, left the college of St. Boniface, where he had been studying for the priesthood, and joined the insurgents. He was an Irishman by birth, having lived, however, for some time in the city of New York, and was suspected of possessing strong Fenian proclivities. He afterwards became a leading spirit in the insurrection, and we will often have occasion to speak of him in connection with some of the most important actions of the insurgents. As the flag was hoisted on the pole, a

volley was fired in its honor, and the band from the College of St. Boniface being present played several tunes, the French, in the meantime, cheering lustily ; after which Riel made a speech to the crowd.

As this was going on, the prisoners were peering out upon the scene from the windows of the rooms into which they had been crowded,—indeed, there were so many of the prisoners confined together, that fears at last began to be felt lest sickness might creep in amongst them. On this account, about one-half of those confined in Fort Garry were removed outside the walls to the old jail, or court house, adjoining.

The French now, with the exception of about sixty men, returned to their homes, on the understanding that those remaining in the fort were to be relieved at regular periods. Riel, therefore, on the 12th Dec. (Sunday), made a call at the church door, at St. Boniface, for a fresh guard to take the place of the men then on duty. This was promptly responded to from amongst the French ; and Riel stated that he intended, in this manner, to guard Fort Garry till the spring, unless circumstances should occur to require a larger body of men.

During all this time, Governor MacTavish, who was in a decline, remained very ill in his house, being only able at times to move from his bed ; and the events occurring in the Settlement tended to make him a great deal worse than he otherwise might have been.

On the 11th Dec. (the day after the hoisting of the provisional flag), Col. Dennis left the stone fort for Pembina, in order to rejoin his superior, Mr. McDougall. In his report he says :—

"Having received, on the evening of the 10th instant, a message from Mr. Sutherland, to say that there was no prospect of getting the French leaders to agree to a meeting, I decided to leave the following day to report to you in person, in accordance with my instructions, and completed the necessary arrangements, engaging a guide, &c., &c.

"During the night, a report reached me that a body of Sioux, said to be 500, were on their way to the Settlement, and had gone as far as Poplar Point, bent upon commencing war 'upon their own hook.'

"Believing that matters in the Red River Settlement were sufficiently complicated, without adding in a raid from the Sioux; and fearing that, should the report have had good foundation, Major Boulton, who left at 4 a.m., on the 10th instant, might not meet the 'war party,' as he was to go straight through to the Portage by the 'Grosse Isle,' I decided to investigate the matter, and, if the report proved true, to use my best endeavours to turn the Indians back, and thus prevent a calamity in which, probably, French and English might be involved. I therefore left the fort at 2 a.m., changed horses at the Town of Winnipeg, and drove through, without meeting interruption of any kind, to Poplar Point, arriving at Mr. George Taylor's about 1 p.m.

"The report which has reached the Settlement, as to the Sioux, was entirely without foundation. They asserted themselves as on the Government side, but said they had had no intention of 'making war' without being first asked to do so by the Governor."

Col. Dennis afterwards reached Pembina on the 15th, having had a very hard trip over the Plains. In the meantime, Riel was using his utmost endeavours to prevail upon the English settlers to join in with the Provisional Government, but with very little success. They wished first to be acquainted with the intentions of the French, in thus setting up a temporary government; and, as Riel did not properly satisfy them upon that point, they determined to have nothing to do with it. Matters, therefore, remained in a very unsettled state,—one side of the Settlement professing to have a government of its own, while the other section had no head, no law, and no order; and, at the same time, it was fully expected that some cause for open disagreement would follow such a dis-united state of affairs. The Americans in the Settlement about this time seemed to be interesting themselves a good deal in the affairs of the country, and this gave rise to the report that Riel and his council had in view annexation to the United States. The project of starting a newspaper, in the interests of the insurgents, was also spoken of, with Major Robinson, an American citizen, as editor and manager of the same. These things tended the more to keep the English settlers at a distance, and was only another proof that Riel, while endeavouring to induce them to join him with one hand, was pushing them off effectually with the other. Stutzman, of Pembina, was also spoken of as likely to be Major Robinson's partner, and there is little doubt that at one time it was so intended, but after-occurrences took place to prevent it, to the salvation, probably, of the Settlement. About this

time, President Bruce was said to be very ill, and did not, therefore, appear in public. It was currently reported, however, at the same time, that he was only feigning sickness, so as to have a plea to resign his position amongst the insurgents—a thing which he soon afterwards did, in favour of Riel.

A party of Indians, somewhere about the 17th or 18th of December, broke into the storehouse belonging to the works on the Lake of the Woods road, at Oak Point, and threatened the man in charge that if he did not give them some of the provisions, they would help themselves without his leave. Mr. Snow thereupon appealed to Riel, and the latter immediately started for the scene of the trouble, and succeeded in quieting the Indians, and satisfied Mr. Snow that he need have no further fears for the safety of the provisions, they having been, in the meantime, stored in some of the neighbouring houses for better protection.

Mr. McDougall now began to entertain the idea of returning to Canada; but, before quite making up his mind to that course, he thought proper to address the following note to Riel, it being the only attempt (as far as we know) on his part to communicate with the insurgents, and find out the true cause for their grievances:—

"(Private.)

"PEMBINA, Dec. 13th, 1869.

"LOUIS RIEL, ESQ.

"SIR,—I hear from the Hudson Bay Post that you are expected to arrive there from Fort Garry to-night. I send this note to inform you that I am anxious to have a con-

versation with you before answering despatches which I have recently received from the Dominion Government. I have not yet had any communication from you, or from any one else, on behalf of the French half-breeds who have prevented me from proceeding to Fort Garry, stating their complaints or wishes in reference to the new government. As the representative of the Sovereign to whom you and they owe, and, as I am told, do not wish to deny allegiance, it is proper that some such communication, should reach me. It will be a great misfortune to us all, I think, if I am obliged to return to Canada, and hand over the powers of government here to a military ruler. This will be the inevitable result, unless we find some solution of the present difficulty very soon.

"I have full powers from the Government, as well as the strongest desire personally, to meet all just claims of every class and section of the people. Why should you not come to me and discuss the matter?

"I beg you to believe that what occurred will not affect my mind against you, or those for whom you may be authorized to speak. The interview proposed must be without the knowledge or privity of certain American citizens here who pretend to be *en rapport* with you. I trust to your honor on this point.

"Very faithfully yours,

"WILLIAM MCDOUGALL."

Mr. McDougall waited in vain for the interview. Riel did not accept the proposition; it had come too late in the day, and had been preceded by too many unmistak-

able proofs that the man seeking the meeting was altogether unfit to govern with either impartiality or moderation. The disappointed would-be-governor, therefore, took up his pen, and vented his spleen upon the head of the man at Fort Garry, whose authority he had so wantonly and utterly destroyed. It is not only curious, but highly absurd, to read what Mr. McDougall wrote to Governor MacTavish on that occasion, as follows :—

"I observe, by a paragraph in the *Montreal Gazette*, that the Dominion Government have telegraphed their agent in London to withhold payment to the Hudson's Bay Company of the purchase money agreed to be paid to them for the transfer of their rights in Rupert's Land. I have no official confirmation of this statement, but will not be surprised if it should prove true. Under these circumstances, it becomes important to consider carefully the *legal position* of all parties in the present crisis. I venture to submit *my view* of the case, as it stands, in the North-West Territories.

"If, in consequence of the action of the Dominion Government, the surrender and transfer of the country did not take place on the first day of December, as previously agreed upon, *then you are the chief executive officer as before, and responsible for the preservation of the peace, and the enforcement of the law.* [NOTE.—How easy it appears now-a-days to take a man's head off, and plaster it on immediately afterwards.] If, on the other hand, the transfer did take place on the first day of December, then, I take it, my commission came into force, and the notice, *in the form of a proclamation*, issued by my authority on

that day, correctly recited the facts, and disclosed the legal status of the respective parties."

Then follows an attempted justification of his conduct in having supplanted Governor MacTavish, and sent Col. Dennis into the country in the way he did. The plain English of the above is, that if the transfer had not taken place on the 1st December, then Mr. MacTavish was governor, and responsible for all the troubles and hubbub caused by Mr. McDougall and his emissary, Col. Dennis, in the country, as well as the acts of the French, in resisting them; but if, on the other hand, the transfer had taken place, then Mr. McDougall was governor, and everything that had been done was right. So that, whether the transfer had or had not taken place, Mr. McDougall had done no wrong, and Mr. MacTavish had,—that was Mr. McDougall's view of the case. He does not seem to have considered that there was anything out of the way in having issued a proclamation to the people that their chief was no longer at the head of affairs (when such was not the case); and he apparently saw no harm in having issued another proclamation, in the shape of a commission, calling upon the people to rise in civil warfare, and thus destroy all hopes of a more peaceful arrangement with the French. Those acts were nothing at all, so long as Mr. McDougall was governor (that being his plan for subjecting the people); but, if Mr. MacTavish was governor, then the responsibility rested upon him for having allowed either Mr. McDougall or Col. Dennis to usurp such authority. Our readers will no doubt admit that all this is "very funny," say the least of it; but we can assure them

it was very serious for the Red River Settlement. And yet, in the face of all this, the opponents of the Canadian Government see fit to endeavour to screen Mr. McDougall (he having joined their ranks), at the expense of his late colleagues, to belie the Red River authorities, and to traduce the Red River people for the acts of one whom, having adopted, they seem bound to protect at any risk.

Mr. McDougall, having bestowed his parting benediction upon Governor MacTavish, sat down and wrote to the Hon. Joseph Howe as follows :—

"Events have occurred since that despatch was written, which, when the account of them reaches you, will justify, I think, the decision which I have arrived at, to return as far as St. Paul, and communicate with you from that point."

Accordingly, in a couple of days afterwards (18th Dec.), Mr. McDougall and his party, having procured sleds, packed up their baggage, and left Pembina for St. Paul *via* Abercrombie. Captain and Mrs. Cameron left some time after, in company with Dr. Tupper, member of the Dominion Parliament, who came to bring them back (Mrs. Cameron being his daughter); and we may mention here that Dr. Tupper had occasion to visit Fort Garry, in order to procure Mrs. Cameron's luggage, which had been seized along with Mr. McDougall's government property, &c.; and, while on that mission, he was obliged to call and see Riel, with whom he had a short interview, the result of which is not properly known; but it is said that it referred principally to the baggage which Dr. Tupper wished to have released. About the time of Mr. Mc-

Dougall's departure from Pembina, it became pretty generally known throughout the Settlement that the proclamation which he had issued as coming from the Queen was a false one, and it was strange to perceive the complete revulsion of feeling that took place amongst the settlers generally. If there was one thing more than another that assisted to strengthen the hands of Riel, it was that. People who professed to be supporters of the incoming government, at once cooled in their ardor, and this led the way, more than anything else, to place Riel in the position which he afterwards held.

The prisoners in Fort Garry felt themselves, to a great degree, sold, especially when they heard that Col. Dennis had fled from the country; and the settlers generally could hardly credit the reality of the position in which the country had been placed. The English settlers felt more than ever at a loss what to do, and thus Mr. McDougall, having sown the seeds of disunion and ill-feeling, left the Settlement, figuratively speaking, in a state of chaos, out of which the way did not seem at all clear. There was, notwithstanding, a feeling of relief experienced by all parties when he did leave the borders, as it was plainly seen that so long as he remained there, the likelihood of an arrangement of the difficulties was not at all probable. He, however, left the dregs of future trouble behind him, which developed themselves after his departure, but which, it is true, might have lain dormant had not Riel and his associates pursued a course and committed acts which brought them to life with renewed vigor.

We may from this time date the wise policy adopted

by the Canadian Ministry,—a policy, in fact, which has saved the country, and placed it, at the present day, in as prosperous and promising a position as any other part of the Dominion.

CHAPTER IX.

RIEL LEVIES A REQUISITION ON THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY—O'DONOGHUE AND THE FENIANS—INDIAN SCARE—THE SIOUX IN COUNCIL ASSEMBLED—GRAND VICAR THIBAULT AND COL. DE SALABERRY ARRIVE AS COMMISSIONERS—LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM HON. JOSEPH HOWE.

ONE fact is noticeable in the history of the troubles, that Riel never deviated from his plan of forming a provisional government; and, in order to make this a success, his whole aim seemed to be to induce or compel the English settlers to join it. This idea, apparently, was that, were the settlers once united under a government which they could call their own, they would be in a proper position to demand those rights which were felt to be necessary for the happiness and future prosperity of the country There is no doubt that, had Mr. McDougall come in with the powers he was possessed of, the result would have been a general dissatisfaction and discontent; so much so that it might have led to serious troubles, and would have at all events prevented the progress of the country, by placing men in power who would have served their own ends and disregarded the interests of the people completely. It may be said, in defence, that such things always regulate themselves. In this case it was different, —the trouble would have commenced from the outset, and the seeds of future ill-feeling would have been sown. It would have taken some time to repair the injury done;

and many years would have elapsed ere the evil effects of a bad commencement would have been entirely eradicated. Under these circumstances it is as well, perhaps, that Mr. McDougall left for Canada, not to return as Governor, for he could not have been popular, except amongst the few "friends," who were to be benefitted by his getting into power, and who therefore felt so much zeal in his behalf (as well as their own) that they entirely frustrated the end they were aiming at, and proved the ruin of the very man who was to be their benefactor.

Matters in the Settlement had quieted down very much since the capture of the Schultz party, and the departure of their master, Mr. McDougall, from Pembina, especially as it was generally believed that the prisoners confined in Fort Garry were likely to be released. But day after day elapsed and still no word of the expected release, until a bitter feeling sprang up amongst the English, at what seemed to them such unnecessary cruelty. It was here again that Riel made a great mistake. Had he liberated the men captured in Schultz's house on their parole, that they would not again interfere with the affairs of the country, it is most probable that he would have commanded the respect of the English settlers; and it is also more than certain that, had Schultz or any of that party attempted to create further disturbance amongst the settlers, they would not have been successful. It appears, however, as if Riel intended to make use of the capture of the prisoners in order to bring about a union of the people, and therein he failed; for although a union did afterwards take place, it was neither a sincere one, nor one that would have lasted for any time.

We will now proceed to describe occurrences as they took place in order.

On the 22nd of December, a bargain was arranged between Major Robinson and Mr. Coldwell, the proprietor of the "Red River Pioneer" newspaper, for the purchase of the press and plant, &c., belonging to the same. Mr. Coldwell had gone to a good deal of expense in bringing in the necessary material for starting a first-class journal; but, before he could issue the first copy, he was stopped by Riel, and therefore the property was, as it were, dead on his hands. He therefore had no other alternative left than to sell out at the first opportunity; and, consequently, closed with Robinson for £550, sterling. Stutzman, by this time, had given up the idea of coming to live in the Settlement, and, therefore, Major Robinson resolved upon carrying on the affair on his own account.

That same afternoon, Riel went to Governor MacTavish and demanded the loan of a large amount of money from the Hudson's Bay Company,—two thousand pounds of which he required to be paid down at once. This Governor MacTavish promptly refused; and, thereupon, Riel, in company with O'Donoghue and an armed guard, with fixed bayonets, entered the public office of the company, and demanded the contents of the safe from the accountant, J. H. MacTavish. This rather peremptory procedure decidedly startled the clerks in the office; but, more so, when Riel, upon MacTavish's refusal to comply with the demand, ordered the guard to advance, to prick, to pierce him if he would not open the safe. Mr. MacTavish still refused, and, thereupon, O'Donoghue stepped forward and

said that he would be under the necessity of searching him for the keys. This MacTavish could not prevent; but, when the keys were discovered, he still refused to show them how to open the door of the safe—the lock being a curious and difficult one to manage. O'Donoghue then tried to overcome the difficulty,—but, for a long time, did not succeed—Riel, in the meantime, walking up and down, and, just as he was losing patience at the delay, O'Donoghue accidentally hit upon the secret of the lock. The money was then taken out and counted, and Mr. MacTavish was obliged to make a memorandum of the amount, after which the guard walked off with the safe and its contents to the office of Mr. Riel, in another part of the Fort.

It was a singular coincidence that the above should have taken place on the afternoon of the same day on which Major Robinson made the bargain with Coldwell for the printing press. It was currently reported at the time that the money seized from the Hudson's Bay Company was intended to pay for the printing press of the "Pioneer,"—the newspaper to be conducted in the interest of the French party. Be that as it may, the money was not paid over to Coldwell till after the seizure. This occurrence of taking the Company's cash-box created some excitement among the English settlers, and was the means of causing Riel to lose several of the best men among his councillors,—they not being prepared to go to such lengths.

On Christmas Eve, the French soldiers were paid for their services in goods taken from the Hudson's Bay

Company's store. In fact, Riel now had no hesitation in taking what he wanted inside the Fort, although an account was kept up to this time of everything thus seized.

Midnight mass was celebrated as usual in St. Boniface Cathedral; but it was observed that there were very few men present, the bulk of the congregation being females. At twelve o'clock, p. m., on the 24th, a salute of 18 guns was fired from the walls of Fort Garry, thus ushering in Christmas in true military style, and, for some reason, Dr. Schultz, about the same time, was separated from his wife and confined with the rest of the prisoners. It is said that the parting between the Doctor and Mrs. Schultz was a very trying scene, and that Riel had some difficulty in persuading his men to take part in it. Certainly it must have appeared as if something serious was about to happen. The men in the Fort were at the time running out the guns, and a good deal of noise and hubbub arose from doing so; and, just at that moment, Riel and his guard appeared to take the Doctor to his other quarters. It was enough to make a stout heart quail, and the bosom of a wife to be torn with apprehension for her husband. There was no intention, however, on the part of Riel to harm Dr. Schultz,—only, it is said, fearing lest he might escape through the instrumentality of his wife, he had him removed into what was considered more secure quarters.

At this stage, several rumors were afloat in the Settlement regarding O'Donoghue, and his connection with the Fenians,—one being that he was about to start for

Chicago and New York, in order to organize a regiment of those men and bring them to Red River to take part in the troubles on the side of the French. It was also reported that a portion of the money seized from the Hudson's Bay Company was to go towards paying O'Donoghue's expenses to the States. It is not known, however, whether O'Donoghue had any real intention of leaving the Settlement at the time or not, as he never went on the expected trip; but it is quite certain that the report of his wish to raise the Fenians caused a good deal of anxiety and trouble in the Settlement, and served in preventing the chances of a union between the English and French settlers. In fact, amongst the latter there was a very strong feeling against this seeming inclination to bring strangers into the quarrel. From this time the probability of an agreement between the two sides of the Settlement appeared to diminish every day,—the English settlers now feeling that they could not join hands with those who, in their eyes, were committing such barefaced robbery as that which was being practised every day on the Hudson's Bay Company. It is unaccountable why Riel pursued this course, when he must have known that a different one was far more likely to secure for him success in his project; and there is no doubt that the union of the whole Settlement was the paramount object by which to obtain that success.

Christmas Day brought with it the resignation of President Bruce, as the head of the French provisional government, and the exaltation of Riel to that position. The ex-president, however, still retained a place amongst

the councillors. Christmas Day also brought news that Grand Vicar Thibault was hourly expected to arrive, in the capacity of a Commissioner, from Canada; his companion, Col. de Salaberry, having remained at Pembina, till it could be ascertained whether he would be allowed to enter the Settlement. Stutzman, at Pembina, endeavored to persuade Riel to hold the conference with these Commissioners on the frontier, in case Grand Vicar Thibault, who was very much beloved by a large class of the French half-breeds (having at one time resided a number of years in the Settlement), might succeed in influencing them against him (Riel).

Riel, however, did not listen to this counsel, but allowed the Grand Vicar to enter the Settlement, and also sent off a party of men to bring in Col. de Salaberry. It was on the 26th December when Grand Vicar Thibault arrived at Fort Garry, and we will quote his own words, from his report to the Government at Ottawa, to describe his reception:—

"In compliance with instructions furnished to us, by the Canadian Government, Lieut.-Col. de Salaberry and myself left Ottawa on the 18th December, for Red River. About midway between Georgetown and Pembina, we met the Hon. Wm. McDougall, who had left the latter place some days previous, and who was on his way to Canada. We immediately handed him papers which we were directed to give him, and we informed him, in a few words, of the object of our mission, which did not prevent him from continuing his journey. The circumstances of his departure changed almost entirely the nature of our

mission, which was to endeavor to procure his admission into the country, by pacifying the people. We, nevertheless, continued our journey, and arrived in Pembina on the 24th December. We there found the people full of distrust against all persons coming from Canada—in fact even against us, notwithstanding that they had been for a long time aware of our entire devotion to the interests of the country. It is probable that orders had already been given to arrest us on the frontier, for we had trouble in finding a guide to conduct us to St. Boniface. In view of these manifestations of feeling, and, in accordance with the sound advice of Messrs. Cameron and Provencher, we decided that it would be more prudent were Col. De Salaberry to remain there with all the papers with which the Government had entrusted us, and I entered alone into the territory.

"Accordingly, at 10 o'clock at night, I started on my journey, with an *employé* of the provisional government, who accompanied me as far as St. Norbert, where I met Riel and some of his *employés*. As I was much fatigued, having travelled night and day in a very uncomfortable vehicle, I obtained permission, but not without difficulty, to sleep at the house of the *curé* of St. Norbert, and to present myself next day. I at once informed the president that I was sent by the Canadian Government, with Col. de Salaberry, and that I wished to know at once whether that hon. gentleman would be permitted to enter Red River. After some moments' reflection, and in view of the assurance that I gave him, that his integrity might be relied on, I was told that he would be sent for, and

that he might enter as soon as possible; and, accordingly, on the 6th of January, I had the pleasure of welcoming my companion."

Both Grand Vicar Thibault and Col. de Salaberry remained at the Bishop's palace, St. Boniface, and did not, at the express desire of Riel, visit among the people for some time after their arrival.

It was now generally feared that the Americans in the Settlement, in connection with those at Pembina, had a great influence over the French party; and annexation to the States was freely discussed as likely to be the next move. Riel, however, declared that he had no such intentions, and that the American party had not and never would have any influence over his actions. And it certainly appears now as if he had only been making use of them to answer his own purposes; but it would have been better if he had kept aloof from them altogether.

On the 27th of December, Donald A. Smith, in company with Mr. Hardisty, of the Hudson's Bay Company service, arrived at Fort Garry, and were met at the gate by Riel, who demanded to see their papers before he would admit them. Mr. Smith, having left his principal papers at Pembina, showed those he had in his possession, which were found to have little, if any, connection with the affairs of the country; and, on declaring that these were the only documents he had with him, he was admitted into the Fort. It was not until some time afterwards that it became known that Mr. Smith was a Commissioner from Canada, although Riel had some idea that he knew more than he would disclose, and therefore kept

a strict watch over his movements, and would not allow him outside the Fort walls.

Mr. Bannatyne, about this time, consented to carry on the Post office, and did so from a feeling that, should it be taken from him and placed in the hands of another, it might entail a great deal of trouble and ill-feeling. The private correspondence, between the English settlers and their friends abroad, would, in that case, have to pass through the hands of the French; and the result would have been that no one, in the excited state of the country, would have felt his letters safe. Mr. Bannatyne had kept the Post office for years under the Government and Council of Assinniboia, and, with the exception of a few grumblings on the part of some certain parties who were antagonistic to him personally, there was no feeling of dissatisfaction with him in his position. He, therefore, retained the office during, and after, the change in the affairs of the country, for the sake of peace and security to all parties. Another consideration, inducing Mr. Bannatyne the more readily to retain the position, was this—it was well known that certain Americans in the Settlement were endeavoring to induce Riel to put them in places of power, and the Post office was one of the departments desired by them. Riel, however, had no wish to see any foreigner in the place which belonged by right to a British subject; and had he given the office to an American, the Settlement, generally, would have been at the mercy of the Pembina clique, and there is no saying what would have been the result. Mr. Bannatyne, therefore, resolved to hold on to the Post office, and, by doing

so, prevented a great deal of trouble and complication that would, most assuredly, have arisen; and when he did this, he was perfectly well aware that he was giving his enemies a weapon to use against him thereafter. Before taking the step, however, Mr. Bannatyne went to Mr. MacTavish, and placed the matter before that gentleman. The Governor told him that, if he thought it would do any good, each and every man ought to do all in their power, to keep peace amongst the people; and under the circumstances, as the Council of Assinniboia had been rendered powerless, he did not see that any harm, but perhaps much good could result from holding on to the office, although it was a delicate step to take at that time, for he said, while your motives may be good, it is doubtful whether the world will give you that much credit.

Frequent threats were now being made amongst the English settlers, to set the prisoners at liberty by force, if Riel did not do it very soon; and this helped to keep up the fever of excitement, for it was known that, as soon as any attempt of the kind was made by the English, the French would join Riel to a man to resist it, and the result would have been a general fight.

The reports, regarding Sioux Indians again began to circulate, and the uncertainty as to the truth of those rumors, made people extremely anxious and watchful. About the same time, the following was issued by Riel, to the several saloon keepers in and around the town of Winnipeg:—

"FORT GARRY, 27th Dec. 1869.

"Mr. * * * *

"SIR—I do hereby respectfully pray you to let nobody have any liquor at your place, from this date up to the tenth of January next. In so doing, you will grant the country a great favor, and very likely preserve it from great misfortune.

"Yours very respectfully,

"LOUIS RIEL."

The above, in connection with the Indian and other rumors, caused a good deal of conjecture as to the meaning of the order, and led people to think that some movement was on the *tapis*. On the 30th December, Pierre Laveiller came into the town, and reported that about fifty Sioux Indians were on the road down from Portage La Prairie, and that a larger number were coming on behind them; and further, that they had been met and advised to turn back, but they insisted upon coming as far as the town. When this became known, and also, that the Indians were well armed, and refused to give a proper account of themselves, it produced quite an excitement in Winnipeg. A meeting of the towns-people was held in the engine-house, and every man able to shoulder a gun was armed. Officers were appointed, and then the men were dismissed to their homes, with instructions to be ready at a moment's warning to turn out. The next day, the reports regarding the Indians were confirmed, and immediately the volunteers were called out. Scouts were sent to reconnoitre; and it was resolved that if the

Indians persisted in coming farther than a mile from the town, they would have to fight for it. Several of the scouts went as far as Silver Heights, the intended residence of Governor McDougall, which is about five miles from Fort Garry, and there remained all day on the look out. Towards evening, the advance party of three Sioux made their appearance, and stopped at the residence of Mr. James McKay, who is said to exercise a good deal of influence over them. There a number of Riel's councillors were in waiting to meet the Indians, and find out their intentions. When the three Sioux entered the house of Mr. McKay, he asked them where the rest of the band were; but, Indian like, they endeavored to conceal the truth, and answered that they were camped some distance up the road, where they intended to remain till next day. Hardly had they finished speaking, when the house was surrounded, and Mr. McKay, singling out the chief, immediately proposed a grand council. This was agreed to; and while Mr. McKay was clearing out his large dining room, the chief took a seat in the parlor and handed his pipe to one of his braves, who filled and lighted it, and then returned it to his leader. The chief then smoked some time in silence, until Mr. McKay having invited all, or as many of the Indians as could crowd into the room, pronounced the council ready to proceed with business. Riel's councillors then ranged themselves along the wall on chairs, while the Indians squatted before them on the floor, as closely as they could pack themselves; the chief, however, occupying a chair. A number of speeches were then made by the French councillors,

Mr. James McKay acting as interpreter, in which they told the Indians, that, as there was trouble amongst the whites in the Settlement, they had better keep away and not mix themselves in it. The chief then arose, and taking the ornaments from his head, he placed them in the hands of one of his braves, and then spoke as follows:—"That he and his warriors had no wish to hurt their white brethren in the Settlement; that they were merely on their way to pay their annual visit to Fort Garry, in order to obtain their New Year's presents; and that they would go back—but they did not wish to do so empty handed." While speaking, the chief pointed to a large silver medal having the Queen's head upon it, which he wore suspended from his neck, and under which he said both he and his band had received protection during the last eight years. When the chief sat down, Mr. McKay gave him a quantity of tobacco and other things; and Riel, about this time, made his appearance, and also handed the chief some more tobacco; telling him, at the same time, that the people of the Settlement wished to remain on good terms with all Indians, and advised him not to go towards the town, but turn back from Mr. McKay's, as there was danger of their getting into trouble if they did not do so.

The Indians now appeared to be well pleased with their treatment, and in order to show their gratification, they cleared the centre of the room, and danced for over half an hour, to the music of a drum and the grunts of two braves. Mr. McKay, for the sake of a little merri-

ment, then produced a galvanic battery, and gave several of the Indians shocks from the same. One of them, being in ill health, fainted from the effects, which caused for a time some excitement as well as suspicion amongst the other savages. When the council was over, the Indians repaired to their camp, and Riel and his councillors returned to Fort Garry. Thus ended the last Indian scare of the season. Two of the same band, however, came as far as the town that night, determined to see for themselves, and report to their companions. After which, the whole party of Indians returned to Portage La Prairie.

The people in the town now disbanded their company, and the men returned to their homes, thankful that the whole affair ended only in a scare.

On the 2nd of January, a prisoner named William Nimmons, escaped from Fort Garry ; and on the 3rd, six or seven were released on the strength of the promise contained in the orders issued on the 27th, ult. ; the balance having been set at liberty a few days afterwards.

Another effort was made about this time, to unite the French and English, in order to hear the Commissioners from Canada. It was contended by Riel, that the settlers, when united, would be in a better position to place their rights before those gentlemen for their consideration. If they were authorized to guarantee what the people demanded, then an arrangement could at once be made for the Canadian Government to come in without delay. If, however, the Commissioners could not grant the bill of rights, then the duty of the people would be

to send them back to Canada, with a proposition from the Red River settlers to the Canadian Government; and, during the interval, until an answer could be received from the Dominion, the people of Rupert's Land could form a provisional government for the protection of law and order in the Settlement.

This plan found favor in the eyes of a great many of the settlers. It was felt that, should the Commissioners go back to Canada, without being able to come to any terms with the people, a very important opportunity would be lost to arrive at a solution of the difficulties; and, at the same time, it was quite plain that the Commissioners could not deal with one section of the Settlement, and neglect the other; so that a union of the whole people seemed absolutely necessary for the success of any negotiations with Canada.

Thus matters stood; a favorable impression having been made upon a number of the settlers who had heretofore stood aloof, and the prospects of a union of the whole Settlement never appeared better. When the newspaper, edited by Major Robinson, came out for the first time under the name of the "New Nation," brimful of annexation ideas—the result of which was to once more throw the English settlers back; and, in one day, the hope entertained of a speedy union of the Settlement was almost totally destroyed.

We will merely give the headings of a few of the articles contained in the number of the paper we have reference to :—

"CONFEDERATION!

"THE BRITISH AMERICAN PROVINCES.—PROPOSED ANNEXATION TO THE UNITED STATES, &c., &c."

"ANNEXATION!

"BRITISH COLUMBIA DEFYING THE DOMINION!"

"ANNEXATION OUR MANIFEST DESTINY!"

The above is enough to show which way the wind blew; and, although Riel stated that the paper would change its views before very long, still the fact of its having expressed them at all in favor of Uncle Sam, while professing to be the organ of the French party, was sufficient to damn them in the eyes of the English settlers. Col. de Salaberry having arrived on the evening of the 5th January, we will continue our quotation from the report of the Grand Vicar Thibault:—

"We immediately communicated our instructions to the President and his council, and they were taken into consideration. Some days afterwards, we were invited to appear before the council, and the President then said he was sorry to see that our papers gave us no authority to treat with them; but that they would, at the same time, be very glad to hear us, trusting that we had only good news to tell them. 'Since you have done us the honor of hearing us,' said we to them, 'we will commence, by telling you, that we are in truth, bearers of good news; and we are enabled to assure you, that the inten-

tions of the Government, who have sent us, are altogether those of peace and good will. It desires to respect your persons and your rights; to labor for the improvement of your country, by making a road in order to communicate more easily with Canada, &c. It admits that it may have been mistaken in its choice of *employés*, whose extravagant conduct may possibly have compromised it in this territory; but, it strongly condemns the arbitrary acts of such *employés* as have wantonly abused its confidence.'

"At the close of this conference, which lasted some hours, during which we were listened too with much attention and respect, we ventured to take upon ourselves to propose a delegation, as being the surest means of arriving most speedily at a conclusion satisfactory to both parties. Then the President, after thanking us very courteously, without, indeed, giving us any official assurance, gave us to understand that we were likely to arrive at a satisfactory settlement; telling us he would look into the matter with his council; which also had seemed well disposed throughout our interview; and that he would give us an answer later. What contributed, not a little, to inspire us with hope, was a few words which the President whispered to Col. de Salaberry, as he was leaving the hall.—'Colonel,' said he, 'don't be in a hurry to leave, I think of charging you with a commission, which can't but be agreeable to you."

It may interest our readers to read a copy of the instructions given to Grand Vicar Thibault and Col. de Salaberry, as Commissioners; and for that reason, we annex the letter of Hon. Joseph Howe, in relation to them:—

"OTTAWA, Dec. 4th, 1869.

"*The Very Reverend Grand Vicar Mr. Thibault.*

"SIR,—Referring to the conversation held with a Committee of the Privy Council, yesterday, and to your kind consent to undertake the delicate task of representing, in conjunction with Col. de Salaberry, the views and policy of this Government to the people of the Hudson's Bay Territory, I am commanded by His Excellency, the Governor General, to convey to you, in the form of instructions for your guidance, the grounds of hope entertained here, that your mission of peace and conciliation will be entirely successful.

"You will not fail to direct the attention of the mixed society, inhabiting the cultivated borders of the Red River and Assinniboine, to the fact which comes within your daily knowledge and observation, and is patent to all the world, that in the four Provinces of this Dominion, men of all origins, creeds, and complexions, stand upon one broad footing of perfect equality, in the eye of the Government and the law; and that no administration could confront the enlightened public sentiment of this country, which attempted to act in the North West, upon principles more restricted and less liberal than those which are firmly established here.

"So far as you may have intercourse with the Indian chiefs and people, you will be good enough to remind them that, while bloody and costly Indian wars have raged often for long periods in different sections of the United States, there has been no war with the Indians in

any of the Provinces of British America, since the conquest. For more than a century, the Micmacs, of Nova Scotia, have lived in peace; while the rights of the Milicetes, of New Brunswick, have been respected. Everywhere within the Canadas, the progress of settlement, while it furnished new employments to the Indians, was rendered practicable by treaties and arrangements, mutually satisfactory, that have formed the secure basis of the sympathy and co-operation which have distinguished the Canadians and Indians, not only since the Treaty of Paris, but from the earliest exploration of the country.

"It may fairly be assumed that the just and judicious treatment of the Indian tribes forms the brightest page in the history of British America. Canadians cannot afford to sully it by any ungenerous treatment of the Indians in the North West. That the disturbances which have taken place at and around Winnipeg and Fort Garry, have grown out of vague apprehensions of danger, incident to the transition state of things, which the action of the Imperial Government and Parliament rendered inevitable, there is no reason to doubt; but it is quite apparent that, underlying what is natural and pardonable in this movement, there have been agencies at work, which loyal subjects cannot countenance; and that artful attempts have been made to mislead the people by the most flagrant and absurd misrepresentations. Had the Queen's Government, or the Government of the Dominion, imitated the rash and reckless conduct of some of those who have taken part in this disturbance, there would, ere this, have been bloodshed and civil war in Rupert's Land, with the pros-

pect of the flame spreading along the frontier, as the fire spreads over the prairie. Fortunately, calmer counsels have prevailed, both in England and at Ottawa. The Proclamation of the Queen's representative, with copies of which you will be furnished in French and English, will convey to her people, the solemn words of their Sovereign, who, possessed of ample power to enforce her authority, yet confided in their loyalty and affectionate attachment to her throne.

"The instructions issued to Mr. McDougall on the 28th of September, long before there was any reason to apprehend serious opposition on the Red River, will show how utterly groundless were the suspicions and apprehensions of unfair treatment which have been widely circulated in the North-West, and to which, unfortunatly, some of the Canadian newspapers, for party purposes, at times gave the mischievous color of their authority.

"You will perceive that at no time was the absurd idea entertained of ignoring the municipal and political rights of the people of the North-West; that the only two persons that Mr. McDougall was formally instructed to call to his aid were Governor MacTavish and Judge Black, who were known to be universally respected; and, that any subsequent selections were to be first reported here, with *grounds of his belief* that they stood equally high in the confidence and affections of the people.

"All the Provinces of the British Empire which now enjoy representative institutions and responsible government have passed through a probationary period till the growth of the population and some political training prepared them for self-government.

"In the United States the Territories are ruled from Washington till the time arrives when they can prove their fitness to be included in the family of States, and, in the halls of Congress, challenge the full measure of power and free development, which American citizenship includes.

"It is fair to assume that some such training as human society requires in all free countries may be useful, if not indispensable, at Red River; but of this you may be assured that the Governor-General and his Council will gladly welcome the period when the Queen can confer with their entire approbation, the largest measure of self-government on her subjects in that region, compatible with the preservation of British interests on this continent, and the integrity of the Empire.

"I think it unnecessary to make more than a passing reference to the acts of folly and indiscretion attributed to persons who have assumed to represent the Dominion and to speak in its name, but who have acted on their own responsibility, and without the knowledge or the sanction of this Government.

"In undertaking, at this season of the year, so long a journey in the public service, you display, Venerable Sir, a spirit of patriotism which, I am commanded to assure you, is fully appreciated by the Queen's representative and by the Privy Council.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOSEPH HOWE,

"*Secretary of State.*"

We will again have occasion to refer to the mission of Grand Vicar Thibault and Col. de Salaberry; and, in the meantime, we will pass on to other events happening about this time.

On the 9th January, a number of the prisoners escaped through a window of the Court House, where they were confined. Amongst others, Mr. Charles Mair, who had neither cap nor coat when he got away; he, however, procured the necessary articles at the house of a friend, Mr. Wm. Drever, and started out again in the direction of Portage La Prairie, where he said the rest of the escaped prisoners intended to go also.

As soon as the absence of those men was discovered, a guard of Frenchmen started in pursuit; and, as the night was cold, thus preventing the prisoners from travelling as well as they might otherwise have done, some of them were overtaken and captured the next day. One of those thus re-taken, Mr. W. F. Hyman, had his feet so badly frozen when he was caught, that it was feared that he would lose the use of them. It was at this time also that Mr. Thos. Scott escaped from prison, and was not re-taken till some time afterwards.

Stutzman again made his appearance in the Settlement, on the 10th January; and, on this occasion, it was reported that he intended to remain and take up his residence in Red River; but, as will be seen, this expectation was afterwards frustrated. His arrival, however, was the signal for renewed efforts, on the part of the Americans, to get into power, which, happily, did not succeed.

It was about this time that two correspondents of

Canadian newspapers arrived at Fort Garry,—Mr. Robertson, of the Toronto "Telegraph," and Mr. Cunningham, of "The Globe." They were at once taken into custody, and were not allowed to go at large, except on one occasion, when Major Robinson, of the "New Nation," interested himself on their behalf, and obtained permission to show them some hospitality in the town of Winnipeg, which he did in regular editorial style.

A new move, about this time, was made by a few persons, in favor of forming the Settlement into a "Crown Colony;" but it died a natural and sudden death, as nothing important was ever afterwards heard about it.

Messrs. Cunningham and Robertson received orders from Riel to leave Red River on the 14th January; and, accordingly, they hired men to take them to Pembina, and left not at all well pleased with the treatment they had received.

Matters were in such a confused state at the time that strangers coming into the country were looked upon with suspicion; and Riel, doubtless, felt that the correspondence of Messrs. Cunningham and Robertson, at that period of the troubles, might tend to do more harm than good—at least such is the only reason that can be offered for his peremptory orders to them to leave the country.

Rumors were now afloat that a good deal of ill-feeling existed amongst Riel's councillors towards each other; and, that general dissatisfaction was felt by a large number of the French towards Riel. It is certainly the case, that several of his supporters left him about this time, and matters looked very dubious, as far as he was concerned.

In the meantime, the idea of a union of French and English was still being entertained in the Settlement, by parties on both side; but nothing definite was done regarding it, as there was a feeling of want of confidence in the future intentions of Riel. And what added not a little to this opinion, was his reputed complications with the Americans, as well as the reported disunion in his council. At this stage, Donald A. Smith stepped upon the scene as a Commissioner from Canada; and, as it was really the turning point of the Red River troubles, we will devote a chapter to its recital.

CHAPTER X.

MR. DONALD A. SMITH PRODUCES HIS CREDENTIALS AS COMMISSIONER—RIEL ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN THEM BY FORCE—A MASS-MEETING IS HELD, WHEREAT LETTERS OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND HON. JOSEPH HOWE ARE READ—DELEGATES TO BE APPOINTED FROM EVERY PARISH IN THE SETTLEMENT.

WE have already mentioned that Mr. Donald A. Smith left his papers behind him at Pembina on entering the Settlement. It now appears, that, while in Fort Garry, he was watched so closely by Riel and his men, that he almost gave up hope of being able to make use of the documents, entrusted with him by the Canadian Government, in such a way as to communicate their contents to the English as well the French. At last he had an interview with Riel, who expressed a desire to see his credentials and instructions from Canada. Mr. Smith stated that they were at Pembina; but that, if he would allow him to send a friend for them, he would produce the papers, and place before him and his people the views of the Imperial and Canadian Governments. Riel then agreed that Mr. Hardisty should be sent for the documents, but insisted at the same time that one of his men should accompany him. It is said that Riel promised Mr. Smith to deal fairly with him in his capacity as Commissioner. The papers had been left with Mr. Provencher, at Pembina, with instructions not to give them

up to any person, except Mr. Hardisty or Mr. Smith himself. Mr. Hardisty, therefore, left Fort Garry with a guard, and set out on his important mission. They had not gone far, however, when Governor MacTavish, on hearing of the departure of Mr. Smith's messenger, and fearing, from certain circumstances, that Riel intended foul play with the papers, mentioned his doubts to Mr. Angus McKay, and proposed that a party should start off in pursuit, and get possession, if possible, of Mr. Smith's papers, for the purpose of having them placed in that gentleman's hands, to be made public to the whole people. Mr. Pierre Laveiller and Mr. John F. Grant, two influential settlers, volunteered to accompany Mr. McKay in this undertaking; and so the three hardy and courageous men started off with fleet and powerful horses, to carry out Governor MacTavish's ideas. They travelled as far as Scratching River, and there they resolved upon lying in wait for the parties they were watching for. Towards midnight Mr. Hardisty and the man accompanying him came along, and immediately Mr. Angus McKay demanded the papers from him. At first he appeared surprised, but ultimately gave up the documents, on being assured that they would be placed in Mr. Smith's hands as soon as they reached Fort Garry. The man who had been sent with Mr. Hardisty now endeavored to escape; but Grant, levelling his pistol at him, declared that if he should move a step he would shoot him down. This brought the individual to a stand-still, and he afterwards remained a passive spectator of the movements of the party. As soon as they had obtained a little rest at

Scratching River, the party of five persons proceeded on towards Fort Garry, and that night they stopped at the house of one Laboncan Dauphinais, where a dance was going on at the time, and where they had supper. Some time after they had finished their meal, and while they were enjoying a smoke, a loud knock came to the door, and a couple of men appeared, who demanded the man they had taken prisoner. Pierre Laveiller, hearing the altercation, went to the door to find out the meaning of it, and on seeing the two men, he asked them who sent them. "The Council!" was their reply; but on being pressed by Pierre Laveiller, who knew that such could not be the case, they answered, "Riel!" "Then go back," they were told, "and say to Riel, that Pierre Laveiller has Hardisty and the papers, as well as the guard, and that if he (Riel) wants them let him come and take them."

Upon this the door was shut in the faces of the two men, and, as it turned out afterwards, on Riel's also, for, it appears, he was standing in the gloom at a distance of only a few feet from the door, pistol in hand, and a listener to the whole of Pierre's conversation with the two men. During all this time dancing and merrymaking continued in the house as if nothing important was going on, and the prisoner (Hardisty's guard) requested leave to join in the festivities, which was granted, and, immediately forgetting that he was a captive, he became as merry as a guest.

The next morning, word was sent round to the well-disposed amongst the neighbors, to collect together and

accompany the party to Fort Garry. Messengers were also sent ahead to notify parties along the road, and the consequence was, that a long train of sleighs followed Messrs. McKay, Laveiller and Grant, which continued to swell in numbers as they approached the end of their journey. Soon after they left Laboncan Dauphinais' house, Riel made his appearance in a cutter, and endeavored to pass the party, putting his horse at full gallop in the attempt, but he was prevented from accomplishing his object, as Laveiller, who was foremost in a sleigh with Mr. Hardisty beside him, would not allow him to do so.

Before reaching Riviere Sale they met Rev. M. Richot, who stopped Laveiller, and endeavored to reason with him, but all to no purpose—the rev. gentleman was told to stand to one side, and the cavalcade passed on. At Riviere Sale an altercation took place between Laveiller and Riel, when the latter wished to go on ahead to Fort Garry—the result of this was, that, in a scuffle which ensued between the two men, Laveiller drew a pistol, and, had not Grant and several others stepped in between them, Riel would doubtless have been shot on the spot. Riel, however, threw wide his arms, declaring that he was unarmed, and consented to follow as one of the party. They then moved on in line, Laveiller and Mr. Hardisty still leading the way; and when they had reached within a short distance of Fort Garry, Riel managed to get in first, and summoned his men to the gate. After a little parleying, however, Riel ordered the guard to admit Laveiller and the rest of the party, and the papers were then handed to Mr. Smith. Judge Black, who was pre-

sent at the time, opened the papers, while Riel was having an interview with Mr. Smith.

At this period Riel's position was a very doubtful one; his council was split into two parties, and a strong opposition had risen against him amongst his own people. Important papers had been put into the hands of Mr. Smith, evidently against his (Riel's) wishes, and the opposition insisted upon their purport being made known to the whole Settlement.

In the meantime, messengers were despatched all over the country, calling upon the people to assemble the next day at Fort Garry, to hear the papers read; and Laveiller and his party insisted upon remaining in the Fort, as a body-guard to Mr. Smith until this should be done. Accordingly the next day, 19th January, a grand mass meeting of the inhabitants of the Settlement, including all classes, was held at Fort Garry. So many were present, that the assembly had to be held in the open air, and this when the thermometer stood at about 20 deg below zero. The meeting lasted some five hours.

On motion of President Riel, seconded by Pierre Laveiller, Mr. Thos. Bunn was called to the chair.

In opening the meeting the chairman expressed it as his opinion that this was the most important meeting ever held in the Settlement. The most vital interests were at stake, and he, therefore, hoped that the utmost order and good humor would prevail.

Mr. Riel was elected interpreter; and, on the motion of Mr. Angus McKay, seconded by Mr. O'Donoghue, Judge Black was appointed secretary to the meeting.

Col. de Salaberry was present both days.

The Chairman introduced to the meeting Mr. Donald A. Smith, who came forward and read the following document, which, he said, had been handed to him in Canada :—

OTTAWA, Dec. 10th, 1869.

"SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that His Excellency, the Governor-General, has been pleased to appoint you Special Commissioner to inquire into and report on the cause and extent of the armed obstruction offered at Red River, in the North-West Territory, to the peaceable entrance of the Hon. W. McDougall, the gentleman selected to be Lieut.-Governor of the Territory, and to bring about its union with Canada : also to inquire into and report on the cause of the discontent and dissatisfaction at the proposed changes which now exist there: also, to explain to the inhabitants the principle upon which the Government of Canada intend to govern the country, and remove any misapprehensions which may exist on the subject: and also, to take such steps, in concert with Hon. Mr. McDougall and Governor MacTavish, for effecting the peaceable transfer of the Government from the Hudson Bay authorities to the Government of the Dominion.

"You are to consider this communication as a letter of appointment as Government Commissioner. With this letter you will receive a copy of the letter of instructions given to Mr. McDougall on leaving Ottawa, dated the 28th September; also a copy of a further letter to Mr. McDougall, dated the 7th inst.; and a copy of a proclamation issued by His Excellency, the Governor-General,

addressed to the inhabitants of the North-West Territory, by command of Her Majesty.

"You will proceed with all despatch to Pembina, and arrange with Mr. McDougall as to your future course of action, and then go on to Fort Garry, and take such steps as, after such consultation, may seem most expedient. You will, of course, consult with Governor MacTavish and endeavor to arrange one concerted scheme between Mr. McDougall, the Hudson Bay authorities, and yourself, for the pacification of the country.

"As the information coming here is necessarily imperfect, and the circumstances at Red River are continually changing, it is not considered expedient to hamper you with more specific instructions.

"You will, therefore, act, according to the best of your judgment, with Mr. McDougall, and keep me fully informed as to the progress of events there. You will also offer suggestions as to the best mode of dealing with the Indian tribes in the country.

"I have the honor to be, &c.,

"JOSEPH HOWE,

"*Secretary of State for the Provinces.*"

Mr. Riel translated the letter into French.

Mr. Smith then read the following letter sent by the Governor-General of Canada, to him (Smith) personally. It was handed to him at Ottawa:—

OTTAWA, 12th Dec., 1869.

"MY DEAR MR. SMITH,—I learn with satisfaction that you have placed your services at the disposal of the

Canadian Government, and that you are proceeding to Red River to give the parties that are at variance the benefit of your experience——"

Mr. RIEL—"Is that letter public or private?"

Mr. SMITH—"It is a letter to me as Commissioner."

Some confusion ensued, several people spoke at the same time, and ultimately the Chairman ordered silence, and said that the document was public and ought to be read.

Mr. Smith continued the reading of the letter:—"Give the parties that are at variance the benefit of your experience, influence and mediation.

"In my capacity as Her Majesty's representative in the British North American possessions, I have addressed letters to Gov. MacTavish, the Protestant Bishop of Rupert's Land, and the Vicar-General, who acts in lieu of the Roman Catholic Bishop, during his presence in Rome. I have sent them copies of the message received by telegraph from Her Majesty's Secretary of State, which forms the staple of the proclamation addressed to her subjects in the North-West Territory. You will observe that it calls upon all who have any complaints to make, or wishes to express, to address themselves to me as Her Majesty's representative. And you may state with the utmost confidence that the Imperial Government has no intention of acting otherwise—or permitting others to act otherwise—than in perfect good faith towards the inhabitants of the Red River district of the North-West.

"The people may rely upon it that respect and protection

will be extended to the different religious persuasions—(loud cheers)—that titles to every description of property will be perfectly guarded—(renewed cheers)—and that all the franchises which have existed, or which the people may prove themselves qualified to exercise, shall be duly continued or liberally conferred.

"In declaring the desire and determination of Her Majesty's Cabinet, you may very safely use the terms of the ancient formula, that 'Right shall be done in all cases.'

"Wishing you a prosperous journey and all success in your mission of peace and good will,

"I remain, faithfully yours,

"JOHN YOUNG."

Mr. RIEL—"It is not signed 'Governor.'"

Mr. SMITH—"It is written and signed 'in my capacity as Her Majesty's representative.'"

Mr. Riel translated the letter into French.

Mr. Smith then asked Vicar-General Thibault for some letters from the Government of Canada to Gov. MacTavish and the Bishop of Rupert's Land, which had been confided to his (the Vicar-General's) care in Canada. "I," said Mr. S., "have been authorized by Gov. MacTavish to make this request. The document I ask for is an official one, addressed by the Governor-General of Canada to Mr. MacTavish. In explanation I would say, that the Vicar-General and Colonel de Salaberry preceded me from Canada by a few days. It was intended that we should have had communication on the way; and that being the

case, for convenience sake, the letters were given to the Vicar-General. The letter to Mr. MacTavish is explanatory of the views of the Canadian Government, and shows what the Queen wished to say to her faithful subjects here."

Mr. RIEL—"I do not want the documents to be read." (Cries of "We will have it," and cheers.)

CHAIRMAN—"Silence."

Judge Black protested against the document being withheld from the meeting.

A VOICE—"Who has the documents?" (Cheers.)

ANOTHER VOICE—"Mr. O'Donoghue has them." (Cheers.)

CHAIRMAN—"The Vicar-General states that Mr. O'Donoghue seized them, and has got them."

A VOICE—"We want them." (Cheers.)

Mr. RIEL—"I ask the Vicar-General if either of the letters alluded to belong to Mr. Smith?"

The VICAR-GENERAL—"No."

Mr. SMITH—"Mr. MacTavish authorized me to ask for his letter."

Bishop MACHRAY—"I will ask my letter from Mr. O'Donoghue, and I think he will give it."

Judge Black urged the production of the letters.

Mr. Riel replied that the Judge was out of his *role* as secretary in addressing the meeting.

Judge Black said he had no idea that Mr. Riel could teach him his duty.

The Chairman addressed the meeting, and Mr. O'Donoghue protested.

JUDGE BLACK—"If business is not allowed to proceed regularly I will resign."

Mr. O'Donoghue complained that the Chairman would not allow him to address the meeting.

The Chairman said he had no objection to Mr. O'Donoghue doing so, when in order.

Mr. BANNATYNE—"As a Red River settler I ask the Chairman to put the question to the meeting as to whether Mr. O'Donoghue is to be requested to produce the letters."

The Chairman put the question in the form of a resolution, and it was carried amid cheers.

Mr. Bannatyne, in the name of the people of Red River, then demanded of the Vicar-General that he should ask Mr. O'Donoghue for the letters.

Mr. Riel seconded the demand.

The Vicar-General made the required demand.

Mr. O'DONOGHUE—"Since the demand is made in its present form, I may say that I took the letters by order, and delivered them to Secretary Schmidt."

Some debate ensued as to whether it would not do to hunt up these letters next day. But ultimately Mr. O'Donoghue and Pierre Laveiller went in search of the documents to the secretary's desk, and found them. He then delivered them up at the meeting.

Before reading any additional documents, Mr. Smith said he wanted one which was in Mr. MacTavish's possession, and had been sent for.

Mr. Riel moved that any other documents Mr. Smith had to produce should be read in the meantime.

Bishop Machray moved in amendment that, if it did not suit Mr. Smith to proceed with the reading, he be allowed to wait the arrival of the document he wanted.

Rev. Mr. Black seconded the amendment.

Mr. SMITH—"The paper I want is a proclamation from the Governor-General, copies of which came into the Settlement, but where they are I do not know."

Archdeacon McLean said that, if Mr. Smith was willing, it might be well to hear what he had to read at once.

Mr. SMITH—"One of the documents I have is a copy of a paper delivered to me. It is a communication from the Queen, our Sovereign. It is the telegraph message referred to in one of the papers addressed to me, and which was put into my hands in Canada, very shortly after being received from England. It is a message from Earl Granville to Sir John Young, dated 'Nov. 26.'

"'Make what use you think best of what follows :—'The Queen has heard with surprise and regret that certain misguided persons have banded together to oppose by force the entry of the future Lieut.-Governor into our territory in Red River. Her Majesty does not distrust the loyalty of her subjects in that Settlement; and can only ascribe to misunderstanding or misrepresentation, their opposition to a change planned for their advantage.

"'She relies on your Government to use every effort to explain whatever misunderstandings may have arisen,—to ascertain their wants, and conciliate the good will of the people of Red River Settlement. But, in the meantime, she authorizes you to signify to them the sorrow and displeasure with which she views the unreasonable

and lawless proceedings which have taken place; and her expectation that if any parties have desires to express or complaints to make, respecting their condition and prospects, they will address themselves to the Governor-General of Canada.

"'The Queen expects from her representative that as he will be always ready to receive well-founded grievances—so will he exercise all the power and authority she entrusted to him, in the support of order and the suppression of unlawful disturbances.'" (Cheers.)

On motion of Mr. Robt. Tait, seconded by Mr. Mercer, the meeting adjourned till ten o'clock the following day.

At the close of the meeting Mr. Burke jumped up, and demanded the release of the prisoners. Riel, in answer cried out, "Not just now!" Somebody in the crowd then shouted, "Yes! yes!" Upon this Riel's men flew to their arms, and, as the other party were unarmed, the matter dropped without any further trouble, and the assemblage dispersed.

At noon the following day a still larger assemblage gathered at Fort Garry, further to hear Mr. Commissioner Smith.

Mr. Thomas Bunn was again called to the chair.

Messrs. C. Nolin, Grant, Jose Milien, Toussaint Lucie, Vermet, C. Leronce, Xavier Paget and C. Lafontaine were appointed to keep order in the crowd.

Mr. Riel moved that Judge Black resume the office of secretary.

Judge Black declined.

On motion of Mr. R. McBeath, seconded by Mr. A. Dahl, Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne was appointed secretary.

Father Lestanc came forward and said, amid cheers—"We have been good friends to this day in the whole Settlement; and I want to certify here that we will be good friends to-night."

Mr. Riel translated the remarks into French, and Rev. Hy. Cochrane into Indian.

Mr. Smith again came forward, to finish reading the documents. This, he said, is a letter from the Governor-General to Mr. MacTavish :—

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA,
Dec. 6, 1869.

"W. MACTAVISH, Esq., Governor of Assinniboia.

"SIR,—I had the honor to address you in my capacity as representative of the Queen and Governor-General of Her Majesty's British North American possessions, and enclosed for your information a copy of a message received from Earl Granville, in reply to the account which I sent officially of the events occurring in Red River Settlement. The message conveys the mature opinion of the Imperial Cabinet. The proclamation I have issued is based on it; and you will observe that it refers all, who have desires to express or complaints to make, to refer to me, as invested with authority on behalf of the British Government. And the inhabitants of Rupert's Land, of all classes and persuasions, may rest assured that Her Majesty's Government has no intention of interfering with, or setting aside, or allow others to interfere with the religions, the rights, or the franchise hitherto enjoyed, or

to which they may hereafter prove themselves equal.

"Make what use you think best of this communication, and of the enclosed.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"JOHN YOUNG."

Mr. SMITH—"The next document I will read is a communication from Mr. Howe to Mr. McDougall. I read it, not because I have any connection with Mr. McDougall, but because it is referred to in my commission :—

"'OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF

"'STATE FOR THE PROVINCES,

"'OTTAWA, Dec. 7, 1869.

"'SIR,—I had the honor to address to you despatches addressed to you on the 19th and 20th of November, but for fear they have miscarried I duplicate them to you. I have the honor also to send you an Order in Council, passed this day, on the subject of customs duties.

"'You will now be in a position to assure the residents of the North-West Territories—

"'1. That all their civil and religious liberties will be sacredly respected.

"'2. That all their properties, rights and privileges of every kind, as enjoyed under the Government of the Hudson Bay Company, be continued.

"'3. That in granting titles to land now occupied by the settlers, the most liberal policy will be pursued.

"'4. That the present tariff of customs duties will be continued for two years from the 1st of January next,

except in the case of spirituous liquors, as specified in the Order in Council above alluded to.

"'5. That in forming your Council the Governor-General will see that not only the Hudson Bay Company, but the other classes of the residents are fully and fairly represented.

"'6. That your Council will have the power to establish municipal self-government at once, and in such manner as they may think most beneficial for the country.

"'7. That the country will be governed, as in the past, by British law, and according to the spirit of British justice.

"'8. That the present government is to be considered as merely provisional and temporary; and that the Government of Canada will be prepared to submit a measure to Parliament, granting a liberal constitution, so soon as you, as Governor, and your Council, have had the opportunity of reporting fully on the wants and requirements of the Territory.

"'You had, of course, instructions on all the above mentioned points, except the tariff, before you left Ottawa. But it has been thought well that I should repeat them to you in this authoritative form.

"'Trusting that before long you may be enabled to carry these liberal propositions into practice, in administering the affairs of the North-West,

"'I have the honor, &c.,

"'JOSEPH HOWE,

"'*Secretary of State for the Provinces.*

"'Hon. W. McDougall, Pembina.'"

Mr. Riel translated the above.

Mr. SMITH said—"As reference has repeatedly been made in these papers to Mr. McDougall, I may say, that neither with that gentleman nor any of his party have I any, even the slightest, acquaintance, having never seen him nor any of his people, save for a few minutes on the road from Pembina to Georgetown—(Cheers). And at this present moment I have not written a single word either to him or any of his party. My commission is simply, alone, from the Government of Canada. Though personally unknown to you, I am as much interested in the welfare of this country as others. On both sides I have a number of relations in this land—(cheers)—not merely Scotch cousins, but blood relations. Besides that, my wife and her children are natives of Rupert's Land—(Cheers). Hence, though I am myself a Scotchman, people generally will not be surprised that I should feel a deep interest in this great country and its inhabitants—(Cheers). I am here to-day in the interests of Canada, but only in so far as they are in accordance with the interests of this country—(Hear, hear, and cheers). Under no other circumstances would I have consented to act—(Cheers). As to the Hudson Bay Company, my connection with that body is, I suppose, generally known; but I will say that if it could do any possible good to the country, I would, at this moment, resign my position in that company. I sincerely hope that my humble efforts may, in some measure, contribute to bring about, peaceably, union, and entire accord among all classes of the people of this land." (Cheers).

Mr. Smith next read the following document, which was printed in English and French :—

"OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR THE PROVINCES.

"SIR,—As you have been appointed Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Territories, in anticipation of the formal transfer of these Territories by Her Majesty to the Dominion of Canada, and as it is expected that such transfer will be made within the course of the next two or three months, I have the honor, by command of His Excellency the Governor-General, to inform you that it is desirable that no time should be lost in making the necessary preliminary arrangement for the organization of the Government of the Territories.

"2. With this view I am to instruct you to proceed with all convenient speed to Fort Garry, in order that you may effectually superintend the carrying out of the preliminary arrangements indicated in the preceding paragraph, and be ready to assume the government of the Territories on their actual transfer to Canada.

"3. On your arrival at Fort Garry, you will place yourself in communication with Mr. MacTavish, the Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, and notify him of your appointment. You will, at the same time, offer seats in your Council to Mr. MacTavish and to Mr. Black, or other chief judicial officer of the Hudson Bay Company now in the Territory. And, should either or both of these gentlemen decline to accept office, you will submit, for the consideration of His Excellency, the names of

one or two other officers of the Company whom you consider eligible to act as members of the Council. You will at the same time submit the names of several of the residents, and of their character and standing in the Territory, unconnected with the Company, qualified to act as councillors, giving particulars respecting them, and stating their comparative merits.

"4. You will have the goodness to report with all convenient speed, for the information of His Excellency, on the state of the laws, now existing in the Territories, transmitting copies of any laws, ordinances or regulations of the Company now in force there, together with a full report as to the mode of administering justice, the organization of the courts, number and mode of appointment of Justices of the Peace, and the plans, arrangements and means adopted for keeping the peace there.

"5. In preparing the report on the matters referred to in the preceding paragraph, it will be well that you meet and confer with the chief judicial officer of the Company in the Territories.

"6. You will have the goodness to report also upon the system of taxation, if any, in force in the Territories, the system of licensing shops, taverns, &c., the mode of regulating or prohibiting the sale of wines, spirituous and malt liquors. Further, as to the mode of keeping up the roads; and, generally, on the municipal organization, if any, existing in the Territories.

"7. You will also make a full report upon the state of the Indian tribes now in the Territories, their names, numbers and claims, the system heretofore pursued by the

Hudson Bay Company in dealing with them, accompanied by any suggestions you may desire to offer with reference to their protection and the improvement of their condition.

"8. You will have the goodness to report also on the nature and amount of the currency or circulating medium now employed in the Territories, and of the probable requirements of the Territories in that respect for the future.

"9. You will also report on the system of education, if any, which obtains in the Territories.

"10. You will also please to report as to such lands in the Territories as it may be desirable to open up at once for settlement, transmitting a plan of such survey as may be necessary, with an estimate of the cost of survey, a statement of the condition of grants of land and settlement. The plan should show the number of townships it is proposed to lay out at once, the size and position of the townships, and the size of the lots, marking the necessary surveys for churches, schools, roads and other purposes.

"11. You will also report upon the regulations at present existing between the Hudson Bay Company and the different religious bodies in the Territories.

"12. You will also report as to the number of officers now employed by the Hudson Bay Company in the administration of their Government of the Territories, stating the duties and salaries of such officers, and specifying those who should, in your opinion, be retained. You will also report as to the number of persons whom it will be necessary hereafter to employ in the adminis-

tration of the Government; and you will report generally on all subjects connected with the welfare of the Territory, upon which it may seem to you desirable to communicate with the Government of the Dominion.

"13. It is desirable that you should take immediate measures for the extension of the Telegraph system from the Territories to Pembina, and for its connection at that place with the system of the American Telegraph Company or Companies, making any provisional arrangements for that purpose which may be necessary, and forwarding a copy of such arrangements to this Department for confirmation by His Excellency.

"I have the honor to be, &c.,

"E. A. MEREDITH,

"*Secretary of State.*

"Hon. W. McDougall, C.B., Ottawa."

After the reading of this document an adjournment for half an hour was proposed and adopted.

Business being resumed, Mr. Riel, seconded by Mr. Bannatyne, moved that 20 representatives shall be elected, by the English population of Red River, to meet 20 other representatives of the French population, on Tuesday, the 25th inst., at noon, in the Court House, with the object of considering the subject of Mr. Smith's commission, and to decide what would be best for the welfare of the country.—Carried.

Cheers were then given for Father Lestanc, Bishop Machray, Father Richot, Mr. Riel, Mr. O'Donoghue, and the Commissioners.

A VOICE—"That resolution seems to cast a doubt on Mr. Smith's commission. We do not doubt it."

Mr. RIEL and Mr. O'DONOGHUE—"We accept the commission as genuine, and are merely to consider what is to be done under it."

On motion of Judge Black, seconded by Mr. O'Donoghue, it was resolved that a committee, consisting of Thos. Bunn, Rev. J. Black, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, John Sutherland, and John Frazer, be appointed to meet and apportion the English representatives for the different parishes in the Settlement, and to determine the mode of election. Committee to meet to-morrow, at noon, at the Bishop's.

Father RICHOT said—"That he was glad to be present, with the Bishop of Rupert's Land, and the clergy of various denominations. All, he believed, came there with the best interests of the people at heart. They came there to see that order and good feeling prevailed, and to influence people as far as they could in the direction of what was right and just—(Loud cheers). The clergy were also citizens, and, as such, they were glad to be present and promote those objects."—(Cheers).

Bishop Machray was sure that every one would heartily respond to the kind feeling expressed, and do what was possible to promote union and concord—(Loud cheers). The rights of all present were the same, and on all reasonable propositions, there could not be very much difference of opinion—(Cheers). For his part he had the greatest hope that their coming together on that occasion, and their gathering next week, as proposed, would lead to a

happy settlement of public affairs—(Cheers). And, therefore, he hoped we would be as united in the future as we had been in the past—(Loud and repeated cheers).

Mr. RIEL then addressed the meeting as follows:—"Before this assembly breaks up, I cannot but express my feelings, however briefly. I came here with fear. We are not yet enemies—(loud cheers)—but we came very near being so. As soon as we understood each other, we joined in demanding what our English fellow-subjects in common with us believe to be our just rights—(Loud cheers). I am not afraid to say *our* rights; for we all have rights—(Renewed cheers). We claim no half rights, mind you, but all the rights we are entitled to. Those rights will be set forth by our representatives, and, what is more, gentlemen, we will get them." (Loud cheers).

The meeting then adjourned.

Immediately after the close of the proceedings on the second day, the utmost good feeling appeared to exist amongst all classes towards each other. Caps were thrown in the air, cheers after cheers were given. French and English shook hands over what was then considered the happy prospects before the country, as most parties looked upon the difficulties as next thing to being settled. Certainly, the 20th January, 1870, was a happy day in the Red River Settlement; but, alas! that happiness was destined to be of short duration.

On the 21st, the gentlemen appointed for the purpose met at Bishop Machray's residence, to make the allotments of members to each parish in the Settlement, on the English side, and the following is the result:—

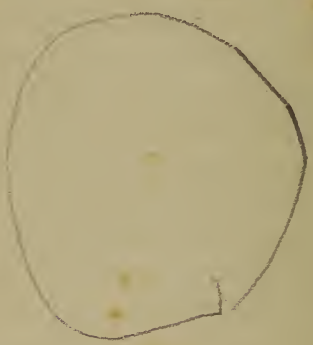
Town of Winnipeg	1	delegate.
St. John	1	"
Kildonan	2	"
St. Paul's	1	"
St. Andrew's	3	"
St. Clement's	2	"
St. Peter's	2	"
St. James'	2	"
Headingly	2	"
St. Ann's	2	"
St. Margaret's	1	"
St. Mary's	1	"
	20	delegates.

Riel had promised to disband the most of his men in Fort Garry, but Dame Rumor again indulged in one of her pranks, which so often did harm during that eventful winter. On this occasion a report reached the ears of the French that the English and Scotch settlers were coming up, in force, to release the prisoners. Now, no such idea was in existence; but the rumor, in connection with the demonstration made at the close of the first day of the mass meeting, had the effect of increasing, instead of decreasing, the number of armed men in Fort Garry.

Riel now bestirred himself to such a degree amongst the French half-breeds, that he succeeded in getting the men he wished to be elected as representatives at the approaching convention, and, by that means, he once more regained the power he had lost, and, at the same time, defeated Laveiller's party.

On the 22nd January, Riel committed another act of trespass on the Hudson's Bay Company, by taking possession of the mess room and adjoining apartments, and Dr. Cowan, who resided in the building, was obliged to move to other quarters.

As there are several incidents connected with the elections of the English delegates to the approaching convention, which are deserving of notice, we will deal with them in the following chapter.



CHAPTER XI.

AMERICANS MEETING AT WINNIPEG—THEIR RESOLUTIONS—ELECTION OF DELEGATES—PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—MEETING OF THE DELEGATES—LIST OF RIGHTS—STORMY DISCUSSIONS THEREON.

THE "New Nation" still continued its advocacy of annexation, and the consequence was that a large number of copies were returned to the office by many of those to whom they had been sent; and, in fact, the newspaper was generally unpopular throughout the Settlement.

In the paper of the 21st January, there appeared the following paragraph, more in the shape of news than a formal notice:—

"The primary meeting, for the election of the delegate from Winnipeg, will be held at the engine-room on Saturday evening, the 22nd inst."

On account of this, a large number of the inhabitants of the town did not attend the meeting on the day mentioned, although it was held as proposed, and was densely packed, chiefly by Americans. Major Robinson was chosen chairman, and Mr. Coldwell, secretary; and then Mr. R. C. Burdick arose and presented the following resolutions for the consideration of the parties present:—

"Whereas, the present state of affairs that now exists in our colony is not one that is calculated to insure public

confidence and prosperity, and, for the purpose of devising some measure to restore the same, a council of forty delegates from different portions thereof is to assemble on Tuesday, the 25th instant:

"And, whereas, we learn that Mr. Smith is empowered, upon the part of Canada, to make to this people certain concessions, or guarantee to us certain rights which we ask, and which we hope will be conceded: and, whereas, we, the individuals comprising the meeting, fully believe that in these concessions being made, upon the part of Canada, lies all our hope for a speedy relief from the present existing state of confusion, and looking to a probability of the council deciding that Mr. Smith's promises may not be such as will warrant the possession immediately of this country by the Canadian Government, in which event it will be necessary for that council to decide upon some form of government to administer the executive during the time intervening between this and the ultimate adoption or rejection by Canada of our offers:

"And, whereas, it being the opinion of the individuals comprising this meeting, that the restoration by the public of Governor MacTavish to the executive, to be aided by a council, elected by a popular vote; therefore be it resolved,—

"The delegate, who shall be chosen by the meeting to represent us in that council, be instructed to use all honorable means, that may lay in his power, to bring about the result above mentioned."

A division of the house was then made on the above, and on account of the preponderance of the American

party, they were lost; but Mr. H. McKenney then moved, in addition to the above resolutions given, that,—

"In the event of that object being unattainable, that our delegate be instructed to use his best judgment in obtaining *such other form of government* as may be, in the meantime, effective in maintaining peace and good order in the Settlement, and the restoration of its prosperity."

This answered the views of the American party exactly, and the consequence was that the resolutions, with McKenney's addition tacked on, were adopted by a majority.

Mr. Alfred H. Scott was then proposed as the delegate, and, in amendment, the name of Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne was put forward. The former, however, had a majority amongst the parties present, although the whole proceedings were protested against, as no regular notice had been given of the meeting, except to the American party in the town.

The friends of Mr. Bannatyne afterwards obtained the signatures of most of the responsible men in Winnipeg, desiring him as their delegate; whereas Mr. Scott showed a much smaller number of names, composed chiefly of parties who had little, if any, stake in the country, and most of whom owed allegiance to Uncle Sam. Yet, in the face of this, the convention afterwards decided against Mr. Bannatyne, because that gentleman, for the sake of peace, preferred not having another election, as there was every probability of a serious row, should one take place.

In this way the American party, at that time, carried matters with a high hand in the town.

The following were the views of the Bishop of Rupert's Land on the subject :—

"DEAR MR. BANNATYNE,—In claiming the seat for Winnipeg, it would be well to demand that it be settled by the English representatives, or by the committee appointed to determine the mode of election. The committee could meet and examine the votes tendered for the candidates in a disputed election, hold security, and reject or receive any votes as may seem to them just.

"I am,

"Very sincerely yours,

"R. RUPERT'S LAND."

On Sunday night, the 23rd January, Dr. Schultz succeeded in making his escape from prison, by opening his window and letting himself down with strips of buffalo hide, which he had cut from the robes that constituted his bed. He then managed to climb the wall, and, obtaining the use of a horse and sleigh from a friend, he fled in the direction of the Stone Fort. The next day a party of Frenchmen were sent off in pursuit of him, but did not succeed in finding him.

On Tuesday, the 25th January, the first meeting of the convention took place ; but, as all the French councillors were not present, it was adjourned till half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, when it was again postponed till one o'clock the next day for a similar reason.

That evening Mr. Thos. Spence, one of the delegates

from the Parish of St. Peter's, was arrested for some reason or another by Riel, but soon afterwards liberated. This was an unfortunate occurrence at the time, and produced an evil effect.

On the next day, at the hour appointed, the French and English delegates, as follow, met for dispatch of business :—

FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES.

St. Paul's.....Pierre Thibert.
Alex. Pagee.
Magnus Birston.
St. François Xavier....Xavier Pagee.
Pierre Poitras.
St. Charles.....Baptiste Beauchemin, took his seat afterwards, as the election was contested.
St. Boniface.....W. B. O'Donoghue.
Ambroise Lepine.
Jos. Genton.
Louis Schmidt.
St. Vital.....Louis Riel.
Andrè Beauchemin.
St. Norbert.....Pierre Parranteau.
Norbert Caronce.
B. Touron.
Pointe Coupee.....Louis Lascerte.
Pierre Delorme.
Oak Point.....Thos. Harrison.
Charles Nolin.
Pointe à Grouette.....George Klyne.

ENGLISH REPRESENTATIVES.

St. Peter's	Rev. Henry Cochrane.
	Thos. Spence.
St. Clement's	Thos. Bunn.
	Alex. McKenzie.
St. Andrew's	Judge Black.
	Donald Gunn, Senr.
	Alfred Boyd.
St. Paul's	Dr. Bird.
Kildonan	John Fraser.
	John Sutherland.
St. John's	James Ross.
St. James'	Geo. Flett.
	Robert Tait.
Headingly	John Taylor.
	Wm. Lonsdale.
St. Mary's	Kenneth McKenzie.
St. Margaret's	Wm. Cummings.
St. Anne's	Geo. Gunn.
	D. Spence.
Winnipeg	Alfred H. Scott.

On the motion of Riel, Judge Black was appointed chairman, and then the meeting selected Mr. Coldwell as secretary on the English side, and Louis Schmidt on that of the French.

It was then agreed, as the room in which they had met was a small one, that only the clergy and newspaper reporters should be allowed access to the convention, it being deemed sufficient that the public should learn the

result of each day's proceedings through the columns of the newspaper.

The next question brought up, was that of the contested elections, which were ultimately decided against the following parties:—

John F. Grant.
Angus McKay.
A. G. B. Bannatyne.

Mr. Smith's papers were then sent for, and, after some discussion, these were placed in the hands of Louis Schmidt, for the purpose of translating them into French.

This closed the second day's proceedings, and the meeting adjourned till the next morning.

Governor MacTavish, having occasion to send some letters to the Stone Fort, entrusted them to a messenger, who succeeded in leaving Fort Garry with them without being detected. He had not gone far, however, when a guard from Riel overtook him and brought him back. Riel then demanded the papers from the man, and, on receiving them, returned them to Governor MacTavish, unopened. This circumstance shows how strictly the doings of the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as other parties, were watched; in fact, it seemed, at that time, almost impossible to do anything without the fact being immediately afterwards communicated to Riel. Spies were everywhere, and no man felt sure of even his dearest friend. The revolutions in France hardly offer a parallel to the state of affairs then existing in the neighborhood of Fort Garry.

About noon on the 27th, the convention again sat, and

Mr. Smith's papers were read and discussed, during which the following document was called for by Mr. Ross; but, as it could not be found, having gone astray, or been designedly put away by some party or parties, it was passed over and never afterwards appeared in public in Red River.

The paper thus called for was a proclamation, issued on the 6th December, based on the cable telegram sent by Earl Granville to Sir John Young, Governor-General of Canada :—

"PROCLAMATION.

"By His Excellency the Right Honourable SIR JOHN YOUNG, Baronet, a member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Governor-General of Canada.

"To all and every the loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, and to all to whom these presents shall come Greeting :

"The Queen has charged me, as her representative, to inform you that certain misguided persons in her Settlements on the Red River have banded themselves together. to oppose, by force, the entry into her North-Western Territories of the officers selected to administer in her name the government, when the Territories are united to the Dominion of Canada, under the authority of the late Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and that

those parties have also forcibly, and with violence, prevented others of her loyal subjects from ingress into the country. Her Majesty feels assured that she may rely upon the loyalty of her subjects in the North-West, and believes those men, who have thus illegally joined together, have done so from some misrepresentations. The Queen is convinced that, in sanctioning the union of the North-West Territories with Canada, she is promoting the best interest of the residents, and, at the same time, strengthening and consolidating her North American possessions, as part of the British Empire. You may judge, then, of the sorrow and displeasure with which the Queen views the unreasonable and lawless proceedings which have occurred.

"Her Majesty commands me to state to you, that she will always be ready, through me, as her representative, to redress all well-founded grievances; and that she has instructed me to hear and consider any complaints that may be made, or desires that may be expressed, to me, as Governor-General. At the same time she has charged me to exercise all the powers and authority with which she has entrusted me, in the support of order, and the suppression of unlawful disturbances.

"By Her Majesty's authority, I do therefore assure you that, on the union with Canada, all your civil and religious rights and privileges will be respected, your properties secured to you, and that your country will be governed, as in the past, under British laws, and in the spirit of British justice.

"I do further, under her authority, entreat and com-

mand those of you who are still assembled and banded together, in defiance of law, peaceably to disperse, and return to your homes, under the penalties of the law, in case of disobedience.

"And I do lastly inform you that, in case of your immediate and peaceable obedience and dispersion, I shall order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law.

"Given under My Hand and Seal-at-Arms at Ottawa, this sixth day of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the thirty-third year of Her Majesty's reign.

"By Command,

{Seal.} "JOHN YOUNG."

"H. L. LANGEVIN,

"*Secretary of State.*"

The reason that the production of the above document was not insisted upon was, that it might prevent a harmonious action of the two sides of the convention, and result in destroying the chances of settlement between them.

Mr. Smith was, shortly afterwards, requested to attend the meeting, and, upon his doing so, and after having been formally introduced to the delegates, he stated that Canada was prepared to respect the people of the country, and grant them everything that was fair.

It was then proposed that the original list of rights should be handed to Mr. Smith, so that his views might

be obtained as to the likelihood of their being granted by Canada. As that list, however, necessarily was imperfect, having been framed without sufficient consideration, it was deemed proper that a committee should be appointed to frame a new list, to be first presented to the convention, as a body, for their approval or alteration; and, when finally agreed upon by the majority of the 40 delegates present, to be then laid before Mr. Smith, and his views taken upon it; and then the extent of his power to grant or guarantee the several clauses in it could be ascertained.

Mr. Smith having then retired, the following gentlemen were appointed to form a committee, for the purpose of framing the proposed new Bill of Rights:—

Louis Riel, Louis Schmidt, Charles Nolin.—French.

James Ross, Dr. Bird, Thos. Bunn.—English.

The above committee was formed altogether of natives of the country, it having been so desired by the general voice of the meeting.

The convention did not again meet for business until the 29th, so as to allow the committee sufficient time to frame their list of rights.

In the meantime an interesting individual arrived in the Settlement, who is bound to figure rather conspicuously in the after events of this history. The following paragraph, which appeared in the "New Nation," will throw some light on the subject:—

"Arrival.—Capt. J. E. Gay, R.S.C., from Paris, France. The captain comes to this country simply as a sight-seer,

and proposes visiting the various interesting localities in these parts."

Now the captain arrived in rather a mysterious sort of manner; his residence in the Settlement was of rather a mysterious character; and the mode of his departure from Red River was still more difficult to comprehend; but, as we will frequently have occasion to mention the gentleman hereafter, we will pass him over for the present, merely stating that, on his arrival, he was, immediately, taken prisoner by order of Riel, who, shortly afterwards, however, released him; and the gay captain, having obtained his liberty, succeeded in raising all sorts of conjectures amongst the people, as to who he could be, and what was his errand at that particular time—some having it that he was a Canadian spy; others, that he was an emissary from Bishop Taché, and others, that he was a gentleman of means in search of adventure. All this, however, afterwards dwindled down to a report that he was merely a schoolmaster in search of something to turn up. What was he? Query?

The "New Nation," about this time, began to change its tone in regard to its annexation views; and did not come out so strong in that respect, as it did at the commencement of its career.

Americans, generally, began to feel that they were losing ground amongst a people who, in reality, felt no desire to change their allegiance as British subjects.

Our readers must not imagine that we are at all inclined to censure the American people generally, or even all the American residents in Red River, for the acts of

a few who, residing in a foreign country, thought proper to interfere in matters which neither concerned them nor their nationality; on the contrary, there were Americans living in Red River, and also at Pembina, who did not agree with the doings of their fellow-countrymen; and had the acts of the few, whom we have reference to, been known in the United States, they would have met with universal condemnation; and, for this reason, we are not disposed to place them in any other light than the pernicious effect of the acts committed upon the oft attempted settlement of the Red River difficulties.

While the convention of delegates was in session, a rumor was circulated that Bishop Taché was on his way from Rome, to use his influence in bringing about some peaceful solution of the troubles; and, it is needless to say, that all classes earnestly hoped that it might prove true, as it was believed that his influence would have great weight in restoring order and harmony amongst the people generally.

The committee on the list of rights finished their labours on the 29th; and the convention then discussed the articles of the Bill, one by one, taking until the 3rd February to do so.

It is unnecessary to give the debates that accompanied the consideration of the bill of rights, it will be sufficient to give our readers the complete list as it passed in the convention:—

"List of Rights.

"1st. That, in view of the present exceptional position

of the North-West, duties upon goods imported into the country shall continue as at present (except in the case of spirituous liquors) for three years, and for such further time as may elapse, until there be uninterrupted railroad communication between Red River Settlement and St. Paul, and also steam communication between Red River Settlement and Lake Superior.

"2nd. As long as this country remains a territory in the Dominion of Canada, there shall be no direct taxation, except such as may be imposed by the local legislature, for municipal or other local purposes.

"3rd. That, during the time this country shall remain in the position of a territory, in the Dominion of Canada, all military, civil, and other public expenses, in connection with the general government of the country, or that have hitherto been borne by the public funds of the Settlement, beyond the receipt of the above-mentioned duties, shall be met by the Dominion of Canada.

"4th. That while the burden of public expense in this territory is borne by Canada, the country be governed under a Lieutenant-Governor from Canada, and a Legislature, three members of whom, being heads of departments of the Government, shall be nominated by the Governor-General of Canada.

"5th. That, after the expiration of this exceptional period, the country shall be governed, as regards its local affairs, as the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec are now governed, by a Legislature by the people, and a Ministry responsible to it, under a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General of Canada.

"6th. That there shall be no interference by the Dominion Parliament in the local affairs of this territory, other than is allowed in the provinces, and that this territory shall have and enjoy, in all respects, the same privileges, advantages and aids in meeting the public expenses of this territory, as the provinces have and enjoy.

"7th. That, while the North-West remains a territory, the Legislature have a right to pass all laws, local to the territory, over the veto of the Lieutenant-Governor, by a two-thirds vote.

"8th. A homestead and pre-emption law.

"9th. That, while the North-West remains a territory, the sum of $25,000 a year be appropriated for schools, roads and bridges.

"10th. That all the public buildings be at the expense of the Dominion Treasury.

"11th. That there shall be guaranteed uninterrupted steam communication to Lake Superior, within five years; and also the establishment, by rail, of a connection with the American railway as soon as it reaches the international line.

"12th. That the military force required in this country be composed of natives of the country during four years.

[Lost by a vote of 16 yeas to 23 nays, and consequently struck out of the list.]

"13th. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature and Courts, and that all public documents and Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages.

"14th. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the French and English languages.

"15th. That treaties be concluded between the Dominion and the several Indian tribes of the country, as soon as possible.

"16th. That, until the population of the country entitles us to more, we have three representatives in the Canadian Parliament; one in the Senate, and two in the Legislative Assembly.

"17th. That all the properties, rights and privileges, as hitherto enjoyed by us, be respected, and that the recognition and arrangement of local customs, usages and privileges be made under the control of the Local Legislature.

"18th. That the Local Legislature of this territory have full control of all the lands inside a circumference having Upper Fort Garry as a centre, and that the radius of this circumference be the number of miles that the American line is distant from Fort Garry.

"19th. That every man in the country (except uncivilized and unsettled Indians) who has attained the age of 21 years, and every British subject, a stranger to this country who has resided three years in this country, and is a householder, shall have a right to vote at the election of a member to serve in the Legislature of the country, and in the Dominion Parliament; and every foreign subject, other than a British subject, who has resided the same length of time in the country, and is a householder, shall have the same right to vote, on condition of his taking the oath of allegiance, it being understood that

this article be subject to amendment exclusively by the Local Legislature.

"20th. That the North-West Territory shall never be held liable for any portion of the £300,000 paid to the Hudson's Bay Company, or for any portion of the public debt of Canada, as it stands at the time of our entering the Confederation; and if, thereafter, we be called upon to assume our share of said public debt, we consent only, on condition that we first be allowed the amount for which we shall be held liable."

As soon as the last article had been carried, Riel proposed that, as they had fully discussed the terms upon which they would become a territory in the Dominion of Canada, the delegates ought now to consider the advantages of entering Confederation as a province. This question was accordingly fully discussed during Friday, February 4th, and resulted in the opinion of the meeting being in favour of becoming a territory.

It was then proposed that Mr. Smith should be requested to attend the meeting on the next day, when Riel rose and said that he had still another clause which he wished to be added to the list of rights, and which he would proceed to place before the delegates, for their consideration, namely:—

"That all bargains with the Hudson's Bay Company, for the transfer of this territory, be considered null and void; and that any arrangements, with reference to the transfer of this country, shall be carried on only with the people of this country."

The next day, after Riel's proposition had been dis-

cussed at some length, it was finally put in the form of a motion, and lost, by 17 yeas and 22 nays.

Riel, when this result was ascertained, jumped up, and, with great warmth, while marching up and down the council room, said :—

"The devil take it: we must win. The vote may go as it likes ; but the measure, which has now been defeated, must be carried. It is a shame to have lost it ; and it was a greater shame, because it was lost by those traitors" —pointing to Nolin, Klyne and Harrison.

Mr. Nolin jumped up and said, with indignation, in French—"I was not sent here, Mr. Riel, to vote at your dictation. I came here to vote according to my conscience. While there are some things for which we blame the Company, there is a good deal for which we must thank them. I do not exculpate the Company altogether; but I say that, in time of need, we have often been indebted to them for assistance and kindness."

Mr. RIEL.—"While I say this matter must be carried, I do not wish to speak disrespectfully to the convention. But I say it will be carried at a subsequent stage. You must remember," he added, angrily, "that there is a provisional government, and, though this measure has been lost by the voice of the convention, I have friends enough, who are determined to add it to the list, on their own responsibility." Turning to the French section of the convention, he said, speaking rapidly, and with great vehemence, and pointing threateningly to those he addressed—"As for you, Charles Nolin, Tom Harrison, and Geo. Klyne—two of you relatives of my own—as for

you, your influence, as public men, is finished in this country. Look at the position in which you have placed yourselves. You have lost your influence," he added, emphatically, "forever."

Mr. NOLIN.—"Let me tell Mr. Riel that I was sent here by my parish. I never sought the position, and, personally, if I am lost to public affairs, I would be rather glad of it. You, Mr. Riel, did what you could to prevent my coming here, and failed; and, if it suited my purpose to come back again, I would come at the call of my parish, in spite of you."

The meeting then broke up in some confusion, it having, at one time, appeared as if there would have been a serious row. An adjournment was arranged till the next day, when it was proposed that the convention should hear Mr. Smith's views on the list of rights.

On the evening of the 4th February, just after Riel had made his proposition, to annul all bargains with the Hudson's Bay Company, for the transfer of the country, he entered the sick chamber of Governor MacTavish, and, it is said, abused him in harsh terms, for some reason or another that is not known.

This act, to say the least of it, was cruel, since it was directed against a man enfeebled by sickness; probably it proceeded from excitement on Riel's part, over an expected opposition, the next day, to his proposition, intended to prevent, if possible, the payment of the £300,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company.

CHAPTER XII.

RIEL ARRESTS GOVERNOR MACTAVISH; IMPRISONS DR. COWAN; AND THREATENS MR. BANNATYNE, WHO WISHED TO VISIT THE PRISONERS—MEETING OF THE DELEGATES AND COMMISSIONERS—LIST OF RIGHTS DISCUSSED—FORMATION OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—RIEL IS ELECTED AND PROCLAIMED PRESIDENT.

ON several occasions, it appeared as if Riel was attempting to force his views upon the convention, and this report, being circulated amongst the people, caused a good deal of dissatisfaction. Coupled with this, the non-release of the prisoners excited feelings amongst the English settlers not at all friendly towards Riel and his party, especially when it became known that Mr. Wm. Hallet had been put in irons for some breach of his prison discipline. We must say that, under the circumstances, it was a piece of unnecessary cruelty, placing a captive in irons when there were so many men in the Fort for the purpose of guarding the prisoners. It should have been remembered that Mr. Hallet had a family living in the Settlement, who, doubtless, would feel very anxious regarding his fate, on hearing of the extreme rigor of his position. Although (as it was reported), a few of the prisoners may have created a disturbance, and, by doing so, irritated their guards almost beyond patience, that of itself was no excuse for the harsh measures inflicted upon William Hallet.

Riel, at that time, seemed to be constantly in a state of extreme excitement. His treatment of Governor MacTavish—denouncing and quarrelling with Nolin—and putting Wm. Hallet in irons—all tended to show that an undue influence was being exercised over his better judgment.

About this time, it became known that Mr. Jos. Monkman, bearing a commission from Mr. McDougall, was on his way to the interior to treat with the Indians. Mr. Monkman had been a firm friend and supporter of Dr. Schultz for some years. Is it, then, to be wondered at if people attributed his appointment as an Indian commissioner *pro tem.* to the influence Dr. Schultz professed to have with Mr. McDougall. Mr. Monkman had orders from the *expectant* governor to the officers in charge of the several Hudson's Bay Company's posts along his route, to supply him with provisions or other necessaries. This, say the least of it, was cool, especially when we consider Mr. McDougall's want of authority in the matter. Mr. Monkman found, however, that Mr. McDougall's word, as far as the procuring the requisite necessaries was concerned, was not quite as good as his bond, and ascertaining that Governor MacTavish's order was the only one that would be taken in the matter, Mr. Monkman returned to the Settlement without having fulfilled any part of his mission—a fortunate thing, as it turned out afterwards, both for the sake of the Dominion as well as of Red River.

On Saturday night, the 6th Feb., Riel, after having been defeated in his measure to make null and void all bargains

with the Hudson's Bay Company, entered the sick chamber of Governor MacTavish, and, it is said, used very harsh and abusive language towards him. He then placed guards in the house to prevent any one from going in or coming out of it; and thus actually held the inmates as prisoners. Dr. Cowan was next taken, and placed in the same room with Wm. Hallet. The effect of such acts as those, on the part of Riel, can hardly be imagined; it in fact, at one sweep, counteracted any good that may have been attained, and left the English settlers and their representatives still more distrustful of Riel's intentions. No other reason can be found to account for this strange conduct on the part of the leader of the French party, unless it was, if possible, to overawe the English delegates, and force them into the course laid out by Riel. On the evening of this outrage on Mr. MacTavish and Dr. Cowan, Mr. Hargrave, the Governor's private secretary, hurried to Mr. Bannatyne, and informed him of what had taken place. That gentleman immediately took steps to find out how far the safety of the families in the Fort was imperilled; and meeting Riel, was ordered by him not to go near the Fort. Mr. Bannatyne, however, feeling still more anxious from this circumstance, determined. if possible, to gain access to Mr. MacTavish's residence, and that night had so far accomplished his design, that he was in the act of climbing over the wall of Fort Garry, and just dropping down on the inside, when he was perceived by one of the guards, and the next moment a heavy stick of wood flew past his head. Mr. Bannatyne then, finding himself discovered, and knowing that it would be useless to attempt

carrying out his purpose, resolved upon waiting till the next morning. Accordingly, the following day (Sunday), in company with Mr. Henry McDermott, Mr. Bannatyne went to the Fort, and succeeded in passing the guards, and obtained an entrance into the Governor's house. There he found Mrs. MacTavish in a dreadful state at the condition of her husband. In the meantime, however, several of the French in the Fort, having perceived Mr. Bannatyne enter the gate, ran across the river on the ice to St. Boniface, where Riel was attending church, and informed him of the fact. Riel thereupon immediately returned in haste to Fort Garry, but found that Mr. Bannatyne and Mr. McDermott had left on their return to the town. A guard was at once sent after them, and they were brought back. Riel then, walking up to Mr. Bannatyne said,—

"Did I not tell you that you were not to enter this Fort?"

Mr. Bannatyne replied that he had done so, and would do so again if necessary.

Riel then said that he was to consider himself a prisoner, and accordingly he was placed under arrest, Mr. McDermott, however, being set at liberty. About the same time, it was rumored that Riel purposed taking Charles Nolin prisoner; and, on that account, a number of men, amongst others, Nolin's brothers, determined to defend him. A guard did leave Fort Garry to carry out Riel's intentions in this matter, but, meeting one of the Nolin's, accompanied by some friends, a scuffle ensued, during which the enraged man (Nolin) snapped his pistol once or

twice in the face of one of his antagonists, and, finding the weapon useless as a fire-arm, he used it as a club, giving several ugly cuts with it, and finally wound up by running the barrel into the mouth of the individual he was struggling with, endeavouring at the same time to fire it off. The guard then returned to Fort Garry, on finding that Nolin's friends were gathered in force to resist them. Two of Riel's men, the next day, endeavored to interfere with the mail as it was entering Winnipeg, but were prevented by several inhabitants of the town.

It may be imagined that times were somewhat lively around Fort Garry during this stage of the troubles. Assuredly they were; and Riel's life was never in so much danger as during the last few days of the convention, which fact he was evidently aware of, as will be seen by the following incident:—

One evening (7th Feb.,) Riel went out, and called upon a brother of Charles Nolin, it is said, for the purpose of explaining matters, and to effect a reconciliation, if possible. While he was sitting in the house eating supper, a man having a gun passed the window; upon which Riel suddenly threw down his knife and fork, and declared that he was about to be shot. Nolin answered that he never would be shot in his house, and immediately went out to see who the man was. It appears that he was an Indian, seeking the way to a comrade's lodge, and perfectly innocent of any attempt on Riel's life. Almost immediately after this occurred, about forty men from the Fort arrived, and accompanied Riel back to his quarters. It is quite evident that the leader of the French party was in a fear-

ful state of excitement, as not long afterwards he was threatened with an attack of brain fever.

On Monday morning the English delegates were undecided whether to attend the convention after the occurrences which had taken place, and which we have already described—but finally they resolved to go. Grand Vicar Thibault, Colonel de Salaberry, and Mr. D. A. Smith, having been requested to attend, were present, and spoke in regard to their powers as Commissioners, from which it appeared that the two former gentlemen were sent merely as peace messengers, which has already been shown, and that the latter was invested with a little more authority to deal with the difficulties. Riel thereupon pressed Mr. Smith to give a guarantee that the list of rights, or even a part thereof, would be granted by Canada, which, however, that gentleman did not feel sufficiently authorized to do. The result of this was that the bill of rights was reviewed clause by clause by Mr. Smith, and his opinions taken upon the several articles contained in it, so far as the probability of their being granted by Canada was concerned. This took up the whole of that day, and resulted in an invitation on the part of the three Commissioners that two or more delegates should be sent by the people of Red River to Canada to confer with the Government at Ottawa as to the best plan to be pursued for the future government of the country. The next day the question as to whether the invitation of the Commissioners should be accepted or not was brought up,

and, after some discussion on the subject, it was resolved:—

"That inasmuch as the Canadian Commissioners invited delegates from this country to Canada to confer with the Canadian Government as to the affairs of this country, and as a cordial reception has been promised to said delegates, Be it therefore resolved that the invitation be accepted, and that the same be signified to the Commissioners."

Messrs. Tait and Laronce were then appointed to convey the resolution to the three Commissioners. It may be here mentioned that Colonel de Salaberry, on behalf of the Canadian Government, had agreed that the Dominion would pay the expenses of the delegates to Ottawa.

This being settled, Riel's all-important point, which he had never lost sight of throughout the different stages of the troubles, was brought up, namely, the formation of a Provisional Government.

The English delegates were not prepared to take any decided steps in this matter without first consulting the people who sent them to the convention. It must here be said that the limited powers vested in their delegates by the English and Scotch settlers was the cause of a great deal of trouble, misunderstanding, and want of harmony in the convention, and to say the least of it, was a singular method of sending representatives to take part in any matter concerning the popular welfare.

When they decided upon sending delegates it would have been far better, and, at all events, more complimen-

tary to the honesty and ability of those elected to represent them, had they given them full powers to act as they thought best for the interests of the country.

Instead of this they were told to go and watch proceedings, and then come back to report. When, therefore, any question was brought up they felt their hands tied, and, although they voted on all the motions put forward, still it was done at the risk of their actions being afterwards repudiated by the people. At the two conventions, therefore, which took place, the French on the one side were united and empowered to act, while on the other hand the English hardly knew what to do, and were consequently oppressed by a timidity which otherwise they would not have felt, and this state of affairs in reality made Riel stronger than he otherwise would have been; for most assuredly he must have realized the ascendancy which the undecided position of the English delegates gave him, and the facts prove that he took advantage of it. During the discussion which took place on the Provisional Government question, it was deemed advisable to consult Governor MacTavish on the subject.

For that purpose Messrs. Sutherland and Fraser proceeded to his residence and had an interview with him, the result of which is as follows :—

Mr. Sutherland, on returning from his visit to the Governor, said: "In order to clear away my own doubts, I went with Mr. Fraser to see Gov. MacTavish; I asked his opinion as to the advisability of forming a Provisional Government. He replied, 'Form a government for God's sake, and restore peace and order in the Settlement.'"

Mr. FRASER—"Another question we put to him was, —Will you delegate your power as Governor to another? He answered, 'I will not delegate my power to any one.'"

Mr. RIEL—"I would like to ask Mr. Fraser whether Mr. MacTavish declared himself the Governor?"

Mr. FRASER—"He did not."

Mr. RIEL (*hastily.*)—"It is well he did not, as out of this convention I would have formed a council of war; and we would have seen the consequences."

The English delegates at last consented to the formation of a Provisional Government, and the following motion was carried:—

"That the Committee previously appointed to draw up the list of rights be reappointed to discuss and decide on the basis and details of the Provisional Government which we have agreed is to be formed for Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory."

Carried, with the substitution of Mr. O'Donoghue for Mr. Schmidt, who was absent. The result of the above was as follows:—

"1. That the Council consist of twenty-four members, twelve from the English and twelve from the French speaking population.

"2. Each side decide as to the appointment of its own members of Council.

"3. That Mr. James Ross be Judge of the Supreme Court.

"4. That all Justices of the Peace, Petty Magistrates, Constables, &c., retain their places, with the exception of

Wm. Dease, J. P., whose place shall be taken by Norbert Laronce.

"5. That Henry McKenney, Esq., be Sheriff as before.

"6. That Dr. Bird be Coroner, as before.

"7. That the General Court be held at the same times and places as formerly, and that the Petty Court be held in five districts:—Lower, Middle, Upper, St. Ann's (Point de Chene), and St. Margaret's (Laprairie).

"8. That Mr. Bannatyne be continued Postmaster.

"9. That John Sutherland and Roger Goulet be Collectors of Customs.

"10. That the President of the Provisional Government be not one of the twenty-four members.

"11. A two-thirds vote to override the veto of the President of the Provisional Government.

"12. That Mr. Thomas Bunn be Secretary to the Provisional Government, and Mr. Louis Schmidt, Under-Secretary.

"13. That Mr. W. B. O'Donoghue be Treasurer."

The next question which was brought up was that of "Who should be President?" When the proceedings reached this stage, it was late in the evening of the 9th February. The inhabitants of the town were in a state of feverish excitement to learn the final decision, as it was believed that therein lay the probability of the release or non-release of all the prisoners confined in Fort Garry.

A stormy discussion accompanied the presidential question, but at last the friends of Riel carried their

point, and he was duly elected as the head of the new Government.

It was now near midnight, and as soon as the decision of the convention was known the guns of Fort Garry thundered out the news, which was answered by a few parties in the town in the shape of bonfires and fireworks —the latter, curious to say, were those intended for the celebration of Mr. McDougall's entrance into Red River, and it may therefore be imagined that the individuals who made use of them on the occasion we have been describing were very well pleased with the results of the convention. Governor MacTavish, Dr. Cowan, and Mr. Bannatyne were released that same night, and a promise was given that the rest of the political prisoners would be set at liberty soon afterwards. Once more the difficulties seemed in a fair way to be settled, but, alas! the hope was a delusive one, as the two next chapters will show. In this way the Provisional Government of Rupert's Land was inaugurated, and the "New Nation" thus describes its formation on that eventful night :—

"Last Acts of the Convention.—Formation of the Provisional Government of Rupert's Land.—Louis Riel, President.—Thos. Bunn, Secretary of State.—Louis Schmidt, Assist. Sec. State.—W. B. O'Donoghue, Sec. Treasury.—James Ross, Chief Justice.—Council of the people to be elected."

And speaking of the exaltation of Riel to the Presidency, it says :—

"The confirmation of Louis Riel as President of the Provisional Government of Rupert's Land by the con-

vention, was announced amid salvos of artillery from the Fort, and the cheers of the delegates. The town welcomed the announcement by a grand display of fireworks and the general and continued discharge of small arms. The firing and cheering were prolonged until late in the night, every one joining in the general enthusiasm. As a result of the amicable union of all parties upon one common platform, a general amnesty to political prisoners will shortly be proclaimed, the soldiers remanded to their homes to await orders, and everything be placed upon a peace footing."

Then, true to its annexation principles, it winds up the article with the Republican motto of—

"VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE."

CHAPTER XIII.

APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA—MASS-MEETING OF ENGLISH SETTLERS AT KILDONAN SCHOOL-HOUSE—MISS MACVICAR AND MR. BANNATYNE OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS—SUTHERLAND IS MURDERED BY PARISIEN—WM. GADDEE IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN KILLED IN GAOL—THE PORTAGE PARTY ARE CAPTURED AND INCARCERATED.

THE convention, however, had not finished its labors. The question of "who were to be the delegates, and how they were to be appointed?" had to be settled. And in this case Riel committed a very great blunder, by nominating the men, and afterwards pushing their appointment to such a degree as to secure it.

Amongst those named, and afterwards elected, was Mr. Alfred H. Scott, a young man with little, if any, stake in the country, and who, in fact, represented only the small party of Americans in the town of Winnipeg. Certainly, it was not following out a consistent course, by placing such a man, allied, as he was, to foreigners, in a position which affected so deeply the common interests of the Settlement. It would have been far better had Rev. Mr. Richot and Judge Black been the only ones chosen,—this, at all events, would have shown a firmness that otherwise was not shown to be the case. As it stood, there were, in reality, two delegates from the French and one from the English, as Mr. Scott professed, openly, to be in

the confidence and on the side of the former party. The appointments, however, were made and confirmed; but subsequent events, as will be shown, prevented their departure for Canada till some time afterwards.

Towards the end of the convention, Riel stated that the English members would not be held responsible for any previous acts of the French party. He also declared Dr. Schultz to be an exile, and liable to be shot, wherever found inside the limits of the country; his property was confiscated, and the proceeds were to be used in paying his debts. He also repeated his assurance that the prisoners would shortly be released.

In regard to Dr. Schultz, it was felt, amongst the English settlers, that the course pursued towards him was unnecessarily harsh; and, although it was well known that the Doctor had tended very considerably, by his unauthorized attitude towards the French, to excite them, still, in the face of the late arrangements, it was deemed not only tyrannical, but contrary to all justice, to denounce him as Riel did. The English delegates were told, however, that they were not asked to share any responsibility in the action taken regarding Schultz,—it being the last act of the French provisional government.

This ended the convention of delegates that ushered into existence the Provisional Government of Rupert's Land,—Riel's long-looked-for aim and object, out of which so much good was to arise.

The English delegates, before leaving for home, arranged that the following should be the proportion of delegates from each parish to make up the twelve:—

St. Peter's	1	St. John's, and	
St. Clement's	1	Town of Winnipeg	1
St. Andrew's	2	St. James'	1
St. Paul's	1	Headingly	1
Kildonan	1	St. Ann's	1
St. Margaret's	1	St. Mary's	1

On the 10th February, the report was circulated that from fifty to one hundred men had come down as far as Headingly, from the Portage, with the avowed purpose of liberating the prisoners by force,—and this too before the delegates sent by them to the convention had returned to their homes.

Riel, however, so far kept his word, notwithstanding this apparent breach of good faith, on the part of the English, that he liberated sixteen of the prisoners on the 12th February, amongst whom was Mr. Wm. Drever, who had been arrested, for some reason or another, only a few days previous. While these prisoners were being released, a young man named Davis succeeded in effecting his escape, by mixing in with those who had been set at liberty as they were leaving the Fort.

Intelligence having been received by Riel that a movement was on foot in connection with the party from the Portage, to raise the English portion of the Settlement, as well as part of the French, a guard was sent off on the strength of information obtained, and six prisoners were captured in the house of Wm. Dease—amongst others, Wm. Gaddee, of whom we will have more to say hereafter. Scouts were sent out to watch the proceedings of

the party at Headingly, and thus every exertion was used by Riel to prevent or frustrate an attack on the Fort,—and, at the same time, a large number of French continued to arrive, armed and ready to take part in any fray that might occur.

In the meantime, all the prisoners, except twenty-four, were released; those remaining having, from some misunderstanding, refused to sign or take the oath not to take up arms against the Provisional Government.

While all these occurrences were taking place, Riel began to furnish and arrange Dr. Cowan's house, inside the Fort, as a government-house; and, for that purpose, removed a large quantity of the furniture belonging to Dr. Schultz to Fort Garry.

Rumors were now continually being heard, regarding the movements of the Portage party, and their intentions. One of their delegates, Mr. McKenzie, a sensible and good man, met them and strongly advised them to turn back, as they were liable to cause a great deal of trouble, if they continued on their course. He also told them that the prisoners were being released, or about to be so. Notwithstanding this good counsel on the part of a thoroughly honest and reliable man, they persisted in holding on their way, their strength increasing as they went, until they numbered somewhere about one hundred men. To say the least of it, their taking the step they did was not only uncalled-for, at the time, but one that risked the peace of the whole Settlement, to serve their own motives of revenge. We cannot look upon it in any other light, as it is well known that they started upon their expedi-

tion before the return of the delegates they had sent to the convention. They ought to have heard their report first concerning matters, before rushing rashly into an undertaking which was likely to cause ruin and desolation to so many homes in the neighborhood of Fort Garry.

We do not seek to palliate Riel's course in having detained the prisoners as long as he did. On the contrary, we condemn it altogether; but, at the same time, we are as ready to censure the acts of the Portage party for their hastiness in doing as they did.

While they were camped at Headingly, it was reported that Schultz was raising a force in the neighbourhood of the Stone Fort, to co-operate with them; and it was said that the Indians were to be once more called upon the scene of action.

All this had the effect of collecting together large bodies of armed men on the French side, especially when it became known that the English people had repudiated the acts of their delegates at the convention, and were gathering for the purpose of releasing the prisoners by force, and overthrowing Riel and the Provisional Government.

What a change from only a few days previous? Then there were sounds of rejoicing at the prospect of peace; now there was naught spoken of but war.

Early on the morning of the 15th February, the Portage party passed through the town of Winnipeg, on their way towards the Stone Fort. They were in sleighs, and had with them, it is said, ladders to scale the walls of Fort Garry. Riel and his men were watching them from

the walls of the Fort, and the leader of the French had the greatest difficulty in keeping his soldiers from breaking out and attacking the party. He succeeded at last in quieting the men, telling them that it would be time enough when the others came to attack the Fort.

In the meantime, the Portage party stopped at a house in the town occupied by Henry Cotu, where Riel had been in the habit of staying overnight sometimes, and demanded to know if he was there. The inmates answered that he was not; but the party outside insisted upon searching the house, which they did, without success—the man, they were seeking for, being at that very time in Fort Garry, urging his influence to restrain the French from attacking their party. The night was cold, and they had driven far; they therefore must have been chilled through, and could not have been in a proper state to defend themselves as far as loading and firing their guns was concerned. On the other hand, the French, who, it has since been learned, knew of their coming long before they came in sight of Fort Garry, were warm, and, at the same time, more accustomed to handle guns in cold weather; they also would most likely have attacked on horseback, and the Portage party, being in sleighs, would have been almost at their mercy. The latter, as soon as they had ascertained that Riel was not at hand, moved on down the Red River, and camped at Kildonan school-house, where they raised a flag, and messengers were despatched to raise the settlers in every direction. Almost every hour, reports were received in the town of the numbers of men collecting at

Kildonan from all parts; and, at the same time, small squads of French were seen driving furiously into Fort Garry.

At last it was said that between six and seven hundred men were gathered together around the Scotch church, and that their intention was to make a descent on Fort Garry that night, the 15th February. It was also reported that about five hundred French were inside the walls of the Fort, so that a lively time was fully expected.

As a proof that the whole affair was a preconcerted plan, we may say that the party from the Portage only passed through the town on the morning of the 15th, and, that same night, over six hundred men collected together at Kildonan school-house, from all parts.

Agents must have been at work for some time; and foremost amongst those were Dr. Schultz and Mr. Charles Mair. The former was either refused a command, or he would not accept one in the expedition, as he was only known as a private soldier in it. He, however, made himself very conspicuous in driving about, exciting the people, and taking an active part in the several councils of war that took place,—at one of which it was proposed to burn down the town.

And, now, let us say one word in regard to the conduct of the men who engaged in this expedition.

In the first place, the movement did not originate with the settlers themselves; but, being urged, by a few firebrands, to rush, without forethought, into an undertaking which was likely to destroy, at one sweep, their labors of

years in the Settlement, they forgot their homes, their families, and their better judgment, to plunge prematurely into a civil war. The prisoners were being released—that was well known; and, although the process, it is true, was slow, much slower than it should have been; yet the movement amongst the English was sufficient to stop at once the liberty, and even jeopardize the lives of the prisoners, had Riel thought proper to accept the challenge and give battle. So far as the excited gathering of armed men is concerned, we feel that the worst dispositions of an otherwise calm and peaceful people were aroused by designing men; and, for the time being, calm, deliberate judgment gave place to blind, excited passion. But there is one point in which we feel that the English settlers did not act in a proper nor discreet manner, and that is this:—At the mass-meeting, it was agreed between all parties, seconded by the most influential men in the Settlement, that a convention of twenty French and twenty English delegates should assemble for the purpose of making arrangements for the entrance of the Canadian Government. Twenty delegates were accordingly sent by the English settlers; but they were vested with little power, if any, to act. That showed no wish to meet the French on a fair footing, and gave Riel the opportunity to have it pretty much his own way in the convention. Then, when the English representatives returned to their several parishes, their acts were repudiated. The days spent at the convention were rendered fruitless; and, at one sweep, the Settlement was thrown back in a worse position than it was before the mass-meeting took place. It

must not be forgotten, at the same time, that the English had learned to place little, if any, confidence in Riel and his party, by the acts committed by them on several occasions, and by the rough, overbearing manner in which affairs had been conducted on the French side. Yet, in the face of all this, would it not have shown better judgment had the English said,—"The interest is a common one; we will fairly and squarely contend with the French at the council-board; we will not allow ourselves to be brow-beaten, but will send our representatives, with full powers to act on our behalf, and, to the best of their ability, uphold our dignity." The result of this would have been that, by a united and dignified action on the part of the English delegates, at the convention, the views of both sides of the Settlement would have had a fair hearing, and the Provisional Government would have been formed without all the heart-burnings which it afterwards occasioned. This was not done, however; and the consequence was, that such men as Schultz and Mair, and others of that stamp, stepped upon the scene, took advantage of the position of affairs, and, for the second time, nearly succeeded in desolating the Settlement.

The Portage party movement was the last of the evil effects occasioned by the rash conduct of Messrs. McDougall and Dennis. Nay, not the last; for since then there have been jealousies, bad feelings, hatred and strife of every description engendered between and amongst all classes in the Settlement,—the whole originating from the doings of the "Conservator of the Peace," his master

and his "friends" in the Settlement. We may add, in connection with this, that the Portage movement was arranged first, and carried out principally by members of Col. Dennis' surveying party, who had been left behind by the Conservator when he started back with Mr. McDougall for Canada.

We will now resume our description of the exciting events that took place in connection with the rising amongst the English.

On the evening of the 15th February, Miss McVicar, a young lady from Canada, whose name ought to be ever remembered in Red River with respect and admiration, nobly came forward for the purpose, if possible, of preventing bloodshed. Her first step was to call upon Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, whom she asked to accompany her to Fort Garry to see Riel, and endeavor to persuade him to release the prisoners, and thus prevent a collision between the two sides. Mr. Bannatyne accompanied the lady to the Fort, and gaining admission within the walls, had an interview with Riel, who told them that he had given the prisoners an opportunity to be released, but that, for some reason, they would not sign the agreement he had prepared. Mr. Bannatyne having asked permission to see the prisoners, it was granted, upon which he went to them and spoke in favor of their signing any reasonable paper, to keep the peace, as by doing so, their being set at liberty would likely be the means of preventing a great deal of trouble. He then returned to where Riel was, and the prisoners, one by one, were brought in. The first one, on being asked to sign the

agreement, asked if all the rest of his comrades in prison were to be allowed the same privilege. This showed that some compact existed amongst the twenty-four prisoners, that they would stick together, and what one refused to do, all would refuse. Mr. Bannatyne, however, put the pen in the man's hand, and told him to sign—saying that both he and Miss McVicar would stay till the last, and see fair play to the rest. The man then signed and was liberated immediately. The two next prisoners brought in spoke in the same way as the first one; but ultimately they also signed, and after that, there was no difficulty with any of them.

It was observed that when the men hesitated to sign, Riel lost patience with them; and it is doubtful whether they would have been released as they were, had not Miss McVicar and Mr. Bannatyne been present. Be that as it may, all the prisoners were released; one of them (Hyman), who had his feet injured by frost in his attempt at escape, was taken away in a sleigh. Miss McVicar and Mr. Bannatyne returned to the town, and the former drove down in company with Mr. William Drever, to announce the fact of the prisoners being released, to the party congregated at Kildonan school-house. In the meantime, prisoners had been taken by both sides, on suspicion of being spies. One by the French, and three by the English; and amongst the latter, was one Parisien, who had been dodging about the Lower Settlement for some time.

The chances for peace now appeared to be good; when the next morning information was received, that changed,

for a time, the whole aspect of affairs—namely, that young Sutherland had been shot by Parisien; who, having succeeded in escaping from his guard, and meeting his victim riding along the river on the ice, fired on him, wounding him in the wrist. Young Sutherland then partly fell from his horse, when Parisien again fired at him, this time inflicting a mortal wound. The object of the murderer must either have been to obtain the horse to facilitate his escape, or else he must have been actuated by a dread that Sutherland intended to intercept him; whereas the young man was merely riding down to the English camp, to see what was going on; he never having mixed himself up in any way in the rising on either side. The avengers, however, were soon on the track of the murderer, for hardly had he fired at young Sutherland the second time, and before he could capture the horse, his pursuers from the English camp, were close upon him. Parisien, on seeing this, darted into the woods, but was soon afterwards overtaken, and, in the struggle that ensued, he received injuries from which he died some days afterwards.

Mr. Fraser from Kildonan, went up at once to see Riel about what had happened; but, it appears, was not received very cordially, being told that Parisien, as a prisoner escaping, had a right to fire upon his pursuers. While Mr. Fraser was in Fort Garry, Mr. Norquay, a messenger from the English party arrived, bearing a letter, in which it was stated that the English portion of the Settlement would not recognize the Provisional Gov-

ernment; and also referred to the shooting of young Sutherland. Riel, on receiving this epistle, became very much excited, and tore up the letter in pieces; at the same time turning to Mr. Fraser, who was present, he said: "Go back to your people and tell them what you have seen." Norquay was then detained as a prisoner, and Mr. Fraser left the fort, but did not act as Riel had desired him, for he knew that it would only tend to excite those assembled around Kildonan school-house. Mr. Sutherland, the father of the boy who had been shot, now sent word to the English camp, that it was his earnest desire that no blood should be shed on account of what had happened to his boy, as it would only make his bereavement the harder to bear, if, through it, other innocent lives should be lost.

In the meantime the excitement around Fort Garry, became intense. Shops were shut—men on horseback were riding here and there. O'Donoghue, at the head of about fifty men, searched every place for powder and ammunition of all kinds; and succeeded in obtaining a large quantity. Horses were pressed into service wherever found; and, altogether, everything took a war-like appearance. The walls of Fort Garry were crowded with armed men, and scouts were flying in and out of the gates continually, while every moment fresh squads of French half-breeds were arriving. While this was going on, the English were holding councils and deliberating on the course they were to pursue. They received the following letter from Riel:—

"FORT GARRY, Feb. 16th, 1870.

"*Fellow Countrymen:*

"Mr. Norquay came this morning with a message, and even he has been delayed. He will reach you time enough to tell you that for my part I understand that war, horrible civil war, is the destruction of this country; and Schultz will laugh at us, if after all, he escapes. We are ready to meet any party; but peace, our British rights, we want before all. Gentlemen, the prisoners are out—they have sworn to keep peace. We have taken the responsibility of our past acts. Mr. William MacTavish has asked you, for the sake of God, to form and complete the Provisional Government. Your representatives have joined us on that ground. Who will now come and destroy Red River Settlement?

"LOUIS RIEL."

Norquay was liberated at the same time. The English party continued to go on with their preparations to attack Fort Garry. They levied provisions from the neighboring houses, and endeavored to form some sort of order amongst the people collected around the church. On the evening of the 16th, however, it was decided to disperse to their homes; it being arranged that Henry Prince, and fifty of his Indians, should remain at the Stone Fort to guard it; and the disbanding of the English party once more placed matters on a peace footing.

A horrible rumor now was circulated to the effect that William Gaddee, the prisoner, a noted brave man, had been murdered at Fort Garry in his cell; and all

sorts of versions of the deed were retailed from mouth to mouth. At last it was felt to a certainty that the man had been killed, and great fears were felt as to the effect the news would have on the English half-breeds; and also, on the Indians at the Portage, by whom Gaddee was very much liked. Nothing authentic could be learned as to the manner of his death; and thus it remained for some time, a horrible mystery to all outside, as well as most of those inside Fort Garry.

Another event happened about this time, which served to attract attention from the Gaddee affair, and that was the capture of the Portage party.

On the morning of the 17th, word was received that the English settlers had disbanded, and were returning to their homes. Soon after this, a small party of men—some in sleighs and others on foot, were seen to verge off across the prairie, from St. John's school-house, appearing as if they wished to avoid the town. As soon as this party was discovered, a body of horsemen emerged from Fort Garry, and started out for the purpose of intercepting them. People in the town, crowded every available spot overlooking the prairie. Faces thronged the windows. Wood piles and fences were crowded with sight-seers, all expecting to behold a miniature battle. When the Portage party discovered the French coming out of the Fort they halted, and appeared to hold a consultation; after which, they moved slowly on—the depth of snow impeding their progress. The French, at the head of whom was O'Donoghue, continued to gallop over the snow drifts, halting now and again for stragglers. At last the

two parties met, but instead of a fight, they mixed together for some minutes, and then they all started in the direction of Fort Garry.

They have been taken prisoners, was the conclusion by the lookers-on, and so, indeed, it turned out to be.

Several of the Portage party refused at first to give up their arms; but ultimately they consented to do so, and were all taken to Fort Garry, where they were imprisoned in the same rooms which had only recently been vacated by the first lot of prisoners. It is said that the Portage party gave themselves up, on the understanding that Riel merely wished to speak to them and explain matters. If this is the case, they were not justly dealt by, for immediately upon their arrival at Fort Garry, they were put in prison, and Major Boulton, their leader, placed in irons. What a singular change in affairs this occasioned;—twenty-four prisoners liberated on the 15th,—forty-eight prisoners taken on the 17th. The following are the names of those captured in the way we have described:

Major Boulton.
John McLean.
Robert McBain.
Wilder Bartlett.
James McBain.
Dan Sissons.
A. Murray.
W. Farmer.
Lawrence Smith.
Charles McDonald.
R. Adams.
J. Paquin.
M. McLeod.
Archibald McDonald.
James Jock.
Thomas Scott.
James Sanderson.
George Wylds.
D. Taylor.
A. Taylor.

John Switzer.	George Newcomb.
H. Williams.	H. Taylor.
Alexander McPherson.	J. B. Morrison.
W. G. Bird.	W. Salter.
Alexander McLean.	Magnus Brown.
Joseph Paquin.	N. Morrison.
William Paquin.	W. Sutherland.
George Sandison.	Robert Dennison.
J. Dillworth.	Joseph Smith.
William Dillworth.	Charles Millan.
Thomas Baxter.	Alexander Parker.
John Taylor.	Sergt. Powers.
John McKay.	John Ivy.
G. Parker.	One name unknown.

Riel, after the capture of the Portage party, sent out about twenty men to reconnoitre down the English Settlement, but they found everything quiet. Parisien, the man who shot young Sutherland, was taken to the Stone Fort, from which he was afterwards removed to his own house, and where he died in a short time of his wounds.

This ended this mad-like expedition from the Portage; the immediate results of which were the loss of two lives and the capture by the French of forty-eight prisoners.

CHAPTER XIV.

MAJOR BOULTON IS TRIED, CONDEMNED TO DEATH, BUT SUBSEQUENTLY PARDONED—COMMISSIONER SMITH AND ARCHDEACON M'LEAN PACIFY THE ENGLISH SETTLERS AND INDUCE THEM TO RECOGNIZE THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT — ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE DR. SCHULTZ—HIS DEPARTURE FOR CANADA—THOMAS SCOTT IS SHOT BY ORDERS OF RIEL—GREAT INDIGNATION IN THE SETTLEMENT.

DOUBTS were now beginning to arise regarding the fate of Gaddee. It was said that he was confined in one of the bastions of the Fort in order to keep him out of the way of some of the French half-breeds who had a spite against him and wished to kill him. Others declared that he had escaped —no one, however, could tell apparently what had become of him. To add to the feeling of horror which this mysterious affair occasioned amongst the community generally, it became known that four of the prisoners taken the day before had been condemned to death. This created a good deal of excitement, and would have caused more had people believed it; but there were many who said that Riel would not dare to commit such an act— others, however, feared lest he might be in earnest, and consequently steps were taken to turn him, if possible, from his purpose.

Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland, the father and mother of the young man who was shot, went to Fort Garry to plead

for the lives of the condemned men. Riel granted the lives of three, but Major Boulton, he said, would have to die that night. It now began to look very serious. Archdeacon M'Lean was called upon to attend the condemned man during his last moments, and a feeling of oppression was felt by all at the thought of a human being to be thus sent to his last account on such short notice, at midnight, too (the hour appointed for the execution)—midnight—the very thought of a man being brought out in the stillness of the night to be shot like a dog was horrible in the extreme. Still there were no lack of interceders, although little hope was now entertained of Major Boulton being spared. People retired to their homes that evening with mingled feelings of hope and uncertainty, mixed with horror at the deed about to be committed. And how was the prisoner during all this time? Calm and resigned to his fate. After writing a few lines to his friends in Canada, he called for a basin of water and a towel with which to wash his face and hands, and a glass of wine to prevent him, if possible, from shivering when passing into the cold night air, in case people might attribute it to fear. He spoke quietly and calmly of the fate before him, and acted altogether as a soldier should do in the face of death. In the meantime the French councillors were sitting in deliberation on Boulton's sentence, the result being that his life was spared. This was communicated at once to the prisoner, who received the information as calmly as he had done the sentence of death, but no doubt his heart leaped with joy at the glad tidings of hope that he might live to see

his friends and relatives once more on earth. The news of Major Boulton's life having been spared spread like wildfire the next morning, it seemed as if a heavy cloud had been lifted from the public mind—all parties felt relieved, and from gloomy thoughts men's minds were raised to those of thankfulness. Had Riel known the bitter feeling that was felt towards him by people throughout the length and breadth of the land, he would have trembled for his own life, but so great was the sudden change from gloom to brightness in the morning that people were almost ready to bless him.

The "New Nation," about this time, fell under the displeasure of Riel, having given a burlesque description of the capture of the Portage party; and the consequence was that the issue of the paper was stopped on that occasion, and it was ordered that none should leave the country. We give the following rather laughable extract from the suppressed paper:—

"CHARGE, CHESTER, CHARGE!

"Winnipeg was all excitement once again. On the house-tops, in the road, at the windows, on the fencing—everywhere—the townsmen, and those who happened to be in town at the time—watched intently the two parties as they closed. Our office became completely demoralized for the fourth or fifth time this week—devils, printers, reporter and editor—all—having rushed out to see the fight. From a wood-pile we viewed the collision. The horsemen swept over the plains furiously until they headed off the English brigade. The latter cocked and

presented their guns. The cavalry prepared to return the salute. But just as we expected the carnage to begin,—it didn't. The guns were lowered. Nobody was hurt; but the calling was tremendous—for the Portage detachment was 'gobbled up.' They were disarmed and escorted as prisoners to the Fort. What is to be done with them, we have not yet heard. The flag brought down from the Portage was among the trophies of this engagement."

Then here is another to be found in the same paper written upon the capture of the party, amongst whom was William Gaddee, in the house of William Dease :—

"WILLIAM LE ROI.

"*Le Roi est mort; vive le Roi.* The end has come. The kingdom of Point Coupee has evaporated. The King has retired over the back road and his subjects are gobbled. The new leggings are confiscated, and the flag of the empire is made into a stair carpet. And this is Point Coupee, that sat upon her level plain, and from her throne of beauty (didn't) rule the world. Poor William! no more shall thy vassals assemble at the call of thy tin horn, nor thy edicts be paramount to the Papal Bull. How have the mighty fallen! Thy Prime Minister is masticating the pemmican of the Provisional Government, and thy subjects are private soldiers thereof. True, thou hast embalmed thyself in history, and wrapped thyself in the mantle of immortality. It happened thusly :— On Sunday last, President Riel sent a squad of men to surround, capture, gobble, and otherwise deprive of liberty

the 'loil' subjects of that warlike empire. The squad took possession of the kitchen of the Dease mansion, whereupon William retreated into the dining room and barricaded the door. Ex-President Bruce, one of the besieging party, endeavoured to hold a parley with him, but the valiant William pointed a pistol at his head and fired. His arm, however, being thrown up at the moment of firing, the bullet only damaged the ceiling. After this sanguinary attempt, the royal personage took to the timber in the rear of his house and made good his escape. Most of his party were captured, but were liberated after taking the oath of allegiance. '*Sic transit gloria regis.*'"

The whole tone of the paper, and who can wonder at it after reading the above, displeased Riel, and the consequence was his edict against it.

About midnight on the 19th, a squad of nearly fifty men on horseback, under charge of Lepine and Isiore Goulait, were sent by Riel down the Settlement to search for Dr. Schultz, but they returned the next morning without having been successful, bringing with them, however, Mr. John Tait, on suspicion of knowing where the Doctor could be found.

It seemed about this time as if Riel was anxious to bring on a civil war instead of preventing one, by the course he pursued in sending bodies of armed men amongst the people who had disbanded and returned to their homes, and were, therefore, not in a position to resist an attack, but who might have been easily exasperated to rise again.

The men inside Fort Garry, about this period of the troubles, seemed to have become completely demoralized. Liquor, seized from the Hudson's Bay Company, was freely supplied to them by their leaders to such a degree that it was handed round in buckets and tin pails, and, consequently, a large quantity was wasted—pity it hadn't all been.

The keys of the Hudson's Bay Company's warehouses had been forcibly taken from the Company's officers and the goods freely used, whether required or not; in fact, the pillage went on to such an extent that the account kept at first of the goods taken had at last to be abandoned, and finally no regular record was kept. The French now appeared to be extremely bitter against Schultz, and vowed that they would have him dead or alive, if he was in the Settlement. We have already mentioned one expedition down the Settlement in search of the Doctor; and now we have to record another, which took place on the 22nd February—Riel this time accompanying the party. They took with them Mr. John Tait, whom they restored to his home, and then they went as far as the Stone Fort, which they searched throughout nearly every nook and corner for the man they wished to find. Henry Prince and his Indians had left the Fort some time previous; and, therefore, there was no resistance to the entrance of Riel and his band. These expeditions down the Settlement tended greatly to embitter the minds of the English settlers, as it looked more like a defiance to them after the late rising against the French.

During all this time the Commissioners were remaining idle, their hands being completely tied, and little hope of their mission resulting in any good. It was an important epoch in the history of Red River; and a false step taken was as likely to cause the loss of the country to Canada as it was to desolate the Settlement itself. Every one felt it important that delegates should be sent to negotiate with the Dominion; and it was also admitted that, unless both sides of the Settlement would agree, this could not be done satisfactorily. The prisoners had been the sticking point on previous occasions, and they were now likely to be the same in the future. It was therefore desirable, nay, it was necessary, that all classes of the settlers should agree on some common platform, so as to bring about peace and open negotiations with Canada. Riel still insisted upon the Provisional Government plan, and at last it was deemed best for all parties to agree to it.

Mr. D. A. Smith then consented to act as a pacificator, in order to obtain the release of all prisoners, to bring about peace, and unite the people; so that some definite result could be arrived at to effect a peaceable union with Canada. He therefore started down the Settlement on his mission; and, through his exertions, the English settlers agreed to send councillors to take part in the Provisional Government. Archdeacon M'Lean accompanied Mr. Smith up the Assiniboine River, and the result was that the whole Settlement agreed to join in the government as agreed upon at the last convention. At the same time Judge Black was pressed by the people to go to Canada

as a delegate, which for a long time he refused to consent to do.

Stories arising in connection with the late Portage party, regarding Indians, were now freely circulated to the effect that they intended to make a descent upon the Settlement; and, in consequence, a party of men were stationed at Lane's Fort on the Assinniboine River by Riel, in order to afford protection to the inhabitants in the neighborhood. These men had also instructions to stop all passengers to and from Portage La Prairie, unless furnished with a pass from Riel.

Several parishes had now elected their representatives for the Provisional Government; and, at a meeting held in the school-house, Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne was elected for the parish of St. John's and town of Winnipeg. Archdeacon M'Lean occupied the chair at that meeting and stated that it was the best course to join in with the Provisional Government, which, after all, was but a temporary matter, to secure peace and order in the country, and facilitate the incoming of the Canadian rule. On the 25th, men and horses were sent off to bring in Bishop Taché, whose arrival in the Settlement was anxiously looked forward to by all parties.

One of Major Boulton's guards, who was sleeping in his room, died suddenly about this time, and was the only death in the Fort known to have taken place since the commencement of the troubles.

The prisoners taken in the Portage affair were much more rigorously dealt by than those captured in Schultz's house, and no one, with the exception of Rev. George

Young, was admitted to see them; in fact, Riel carried matters with a high hand, and even went so far as to say that Bishop Taché, unless he recognized the Provisional Government, would be held as a prisoner on his arrival in Red River.

Not only had the keys of the warehouses in Fort Garry been taken possession of, but Riel now began to kill the cattle belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, in order to feed his men both at Lane's Fort as well as Fort Garry. Word was also sent out to the winterers not to sell their provisions, such as pemmican and dried meat, to the Hudson's Bay Company, as the Provisional Government would buy it; and they were also told to come in prepared to take part with their brethren in the Settlement.

Matters certainly looked very gloomy in Red River at this juncture, notwithstanding that the English had consented to join in the Provisional Government. No word was heard of the delegates leaving for Canada; no council was called; Bishop Taché did not arrive as it was expected he would; nothing, in fact, seemed to be tending towards a settlement—everything appeared at a stand-still, and a deep gloom rested upon people's minds. Reports were constantly being heard regarding the hardships of the prisoners, and the common exclamation was, "God knows where all this is going to end!"

Was it a forerunner of the terrible deed which was afterwards committed? Was it the foreshadowing of an act which inseparably plunged the whole Settlement into distress—that almost wiped out any good and made the

bad still more prominent in the occurrences that had taken place? It seemed like it. It felt at that time as if a terrible storm was brewing, and a deep oppression rested upon the public mind. On the 1st of March, Thos. Scott was put in irons for some misunderstanding with his guards, in which, being a passionate man when once aroused, he became very violent.

While all this was going on—while people outside were full of dread regarding the future, Riel had his quarters in Fort Garry sumptuously furnished, Mr. M'Dougall's government furniture being used for the purpose.

It was now reported as a certainty that Dr. Schultz had left the country for Canada by way of Lake Superior. Mr. Charles Mair also left Portage La Prairie bound for the Dominion—indeed, a large number of Canadians, principally those who had been imprisoned, spoke of leaving the Settlement, and old settlers declared that they would remove to the United States early in spring, rather than remain longer in the state of insecurity they had for some time experienced.

On the 4th of March a deed was committed that struck horror into the minds of all classes in the Settlement—an act of cruelty that can offer no palliation for its committal, and one which suddenly plunged the whole community into mourning. Nothing transpired to prepare the minds of people for what was going to take place—rumor, generally so ready to make use of her pliant tongue, was in this instance silent; the deed was as sudden as it was horrible. No time was given to allow of any steps being taken to prevent it. A human being

was tried at night, told to prepare for death the next morning, and shot at twelve o'clock that day. Oh! shame on the spirit that prompted such an act; was Mercy blind? Had Justice fallen asleep and Wisdom turned her back upon the men who thus so unhesitatingly steeped their hands in blood?

On the morning of the 4th of March it was reported, but not credited, that Thos. Scott had been condemned to death, and was to be shot that day at twelve. Few believed that the execution would take place; although there were others who held that, as Boulton had been spared, Scott was likely to suffer. This latter idea proved to be a correct one. Several interceded for the life of the unfortunate man, and none more so than Mr. Smith, but all to no purpose. Riel seemed determined this time, and accordingly at twelve o'clock, a large crowd having assembled outside the Fort, Scott was led out, his eyes being bandaged, and he was told to kneel at a spot a few yards distant from the postern gate. Before coming out he had bidden his comrades in prison a long good bye, and had written, it is said, letters to his friends in Canada. Until shortly before the hour of his execution, it appears, that he did not believe that he would be shot; but, when the guards came to lead him out, he began to realize the terrible position he was placed in; yet he did not shrink, but acted in every way as one not afraid to meet death. It is horrible to think of the feelings the unfortunate man must have experienced—away from his friends—in the prime of life to be thus suddenly cut off—never again to see those he loved on earth. Oh! why did not Pity

and Charity strike into the hearts of those who were thus wantonly destroying his life.

It has been said that he was violent—that he had threatened the life of Riel if ever he escaped from prison; was it not well known that he was a passionate man when aroused, and that probably his tongue got the better of his judgment while in that state. It has also been said that he had exasperated the guards to such a degree that they were becoming uncontrollable, and were liable to break out upon the prisoners; even then, was there no other method of quieting him than by taking his life? Why was he not kept strictly under guard, and removed from the rest of the prisoners? That treatment might have been called severe; but to kill him, as was done, in cold blood, was a wanton act of cruelty, and one that made every honest heart in Red River shudder at the thought of it.

When Scott had knelt, a firing party of six men having been picked out, the signal was given, and immediately afterwards the unfortunate victim fell, pierced in one or two places, but not killed outright. One of the men then advanced, and drawing his revolver, shot the quivering man through the head. The rude coffin was then brought out, and Scott, still breathing, was placed in it and carried into the Fort.

Some of the men who had been detailed as part of the firing party withdrew the caps from the nipples of their guns and therefore did not fire upon the condemned man. All, however, were more or less under the influence of liquor, and hardly knew what they were doing.

Frightful stories regarding the dying moments of Scott were now circulated around the Settlement, some of them almost too horrible to mention; the whole matter, however, was so much involved in mystery, after the body had been carried into Fort Garry, that people hardly knew what to think of it: many believed, in fact, that Scott had not been killed but merely wounded, and would yet turn up alive. So strong, indeed, was this feeling amongst some that all sorts of rumors in support of it were afloat.

Bishop Machray went to Riel on the 5th and asked for the body of Scott, that it might be interred in a Christian manner; but the request was refused, and that same day a grave was dug in the court-yard of Fort Garry, and a coffin supposed to contain the remains of the unfortunate man was buried in it. This, it has since been found out, was only a sham burial, the corpse having been made away with; and it is now generally believed that it was dropped into the river; but all is surmise as it is not known, except amongst those immediately concerned in the affair, where Scott's body was placed.

Thus ended this dreadful tragedy, and with it was lost all hope of a sincere union between the French and English; from that day, also, Riel's power amongst his own people decreased gradually, until at last he was left almost alone; and he could not have taken a surer step to give his enemies a victory over him, than when he caused Scott to be shot. The feeling of horror at the deed was as strong amongst a large portion of the French as it was with the English; and it must not be thought that it was the desire of the French people that Scott should suffer,

for such was not the case. One can hardly imagine the degree of indignation which swept over the Settlement when news of the deed spread abroad. The feeling to a great extent was subdued, but not the less strong on that account. Men gathered together, and with gloomy countenances conversed on the terrible event. Those who had been in prison almost feared to remain in the neighborhood of Fort Garry, and a number left for distant parts of the Settlement where they could feel safe.

Riel, who professed to be working for the good of his country, had in one day brought a curse upon it—a dreadful blot on the name of his countrymen, and a lasting disgrace upon himself. Had he but refrained from bloodshed—had he followed out the course to the last which he commenced, that of peace, and not allowed himself to be led by the dictates of passion, he would, instead of being an exile to-day, have been a man of high standing amongst his people and respected by all classes.

Although there were many acts committed during the course of the troubles that are to be condemned, still they were not so heinous that they could not be forgiven; but the crime of taking a man's life, especially in the way it was done, is one that can command no other sentiment than that of horror.

The "New Nation" contained an account of the execution, but it was not permitted by Riel to be sent out of the Settlement. A new issue of the paper, having the same date, but containing no reference to the shooting of Scott, was printed and distributed for trans-

mission abroad. Wm. Gaddee, whose fate caused so much conjecture in the Settlement, turned up safe and sound, as it will be seen hereafter.

Thus ends this chapter of horrors, the blackest page in the history of the Red River troubles.

CHAPTER XV.

WINNIPEG—LETTERS OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM HON. JOSEPH HOWE TO BISHOP TACHE—THE BISHOP'S ADDRESS TO THE COUNCIL—DEPARTURE OF DELEGATES TO CANADA WITH INSTRUCTIONS.

THE following was printed and circulated, by orders of Riel, on the day of the shooting of Scott:—

OFFICIAL ORDERS.

"It is hereby ordered that the town of Winnipeg be, and shall be, hereafter, the Capital of the North-West. That the bounds of said town be as follows:—The Assinniboine River on the south; Red River on the east; McDermott's Creek on the north; and, on the west, by Spencer's Creek.

"In response to a petition, from the citizens of the town of Winnipeg, asking for a separate representation in the Provisional Government, and protest against having said town consolidated with St. John's Parish; That the said town of Winnipeg be entitled to a representation by two members in the Provisional Government; and that the election for said members be held at the engine-house, between the hours of three and five o'clock p. m., on Saturday, March 5th, 1870.

"By order of the President.

"LOUIS SCHMIDT,

"*Assistant Secretary.*"

The above proved that the American party had been successful at last in their endeavors to obtain two representatives for the town (*i. e.* themselves); and, accordingly, a meeting was held the same evening, at the place appointed. Few men of responsibility attended; and, therefore, H. F. O'Lone and Alfred H. Scott were elected as councillors. This step on the part of Riel, in giving way to the Americans, caused a good deal of dissatisfaction to all parties, and showed an undeniable wish to secure a majority in the council on the part of the French; as, in fact, Messrs. O'Lone and Scott both openly declared their sympathies to be against the English.

Captain Gay now began to take an active interest in affairs at the Fort,—remaining most of his time within the walls. A good deal of speculation was, therefore, afloat regarding him and his errand to Red River.

Charles Nolin was kept a prisoner, about this time, for several days at Fort Garry, on account of his opposition to Riel at the last convention; but at last, on account of his many powerful friends amongst the French, he was released.

Rumors were also afloat that another of the prisoners was likely to suffer as Scott had done, on account of violent behavior.

The non-arrival of Bishop Taché now caused a good deal of anxiety, as it was feared if he did not come soon that Riel might be tempted to use other extreme measures; and it was felt, at the same time, that, with Bishop Taché's presence in the Settlement, a more moderate

course would at least have been pursued by the leader of the French.

At last, on the evening of the 8th March, word was brought in that his Lordship was at Riviere Sale; and, immediately afterwards a number of people went to meet him—in all about two hundred persons—who accompanied him to the cathedral first, and then to his palace.

For some days after his arrival Bishop Taché did not appear in public, which gave rise to the report that he was kept as a prisoner in his own house by Riel.

The following notice now appeared in the "New Nation":—

"A meeting of the Council of the Provisional Government of Rupert's Land is hereby ordered to be held at Fort Garry, on Wednesday, 9th inst.

"By order of the President.

"LOUIS SCHMIDT,

"*Assistant Secretary.*"

And, accordingly, on the day appointed, those of the representatives who had seen the notice attended at Fort Garry; but, as there were very few of the English present, the meeting was adjourned until the 15th inst., immediately after the following speech had been delivered by Riel:—

"GENTLEMEN,—We have been assembled in this chamber on several occasions, having been sent here by the people to deliberate on the political state of the country, and to adopt such measures as would secure the prosperity of the present and future generations. But all

that has been done so far has resulted only in what we have to-day. Yet that only is a very comprehensive word. It includes your work during that period—the work of the people in fact. We have worked here in the past in anxiety and fear. But we have worked conscientiously. That the majority, at least, have done so, I fully believe. One result of our labors is, that the people generally now have, for the first time in the history of this land, a voice in the direction of public affairs. They have here a full representation. Herein we may congratulate ourselves that our work has been a good one; and, indeed, it may almost be said to be the only result we have arrived at as yet. At present, we are not, perhaps, in a position to proceed to business. But, at the same time, we have arrived at that stage when there is some public security. Let us then see to it that the public are no more allowed to rush together, on one side or the other, in such a manner as they have gathered of late. Let us be friends, and let our friendship be hearty and sincere. On many occasions, since last fall, I have heard professions of friendship in this chamber, and I must say, I was sorry to hear those professions, for I knew they were, as they afterwards proved to be, insincere. There was too much of fear and estrangement to allow of that friendship being hearty. But now that we have come together once more, I believe we are actuated by such feelings as will lead to a thorough union. We have come here to decide on that which we believe to be our duty, and will do it honestly. We are here as the public authority. We are here to act in that capacity.

Some of you were in the old government of the country, and are familiar with the conduct of public proceedings. You have your ideas of what is best for the public. The councillors, as a body, have their ideas on the same subject. Well, then, let us act,—that is our motto. Let us not confine ourselves to thinking or speaking. We must act inside this chamber, as well as outside. The work is urgent,—is one of the utmost consequence to ourselves and our people. In this council, and outside, that work awaits us, and we will not be faithful to ourselves or our country if we shirk it. As to the business before us, I may say that, in the first place, the government must be completed as soon as possible. This must be done in order to promote union in the Settlement, and give that feeling of security which will encourage our business men to start afresh and infuse new vigor into the community in general. We must help the country at this crisis; and, if we do so in the way I have pointed out, I feel that we will secure general sympathy and support. The people will support us if we support them. There are, I know, some differences between the residents of different localities—and perhaps the easiest way to dispose of them would be that each side would concede something. A spirit of concession, I think, ought to be manifested on both sides; and if it is, we will be cordial and united. If we were so united,—as was said long ago,—the people of Red River could make their own terms with Canada. We have had already three commissioners from the Dominion; and now, perhaps, we have another come amongst us, in the person of His Lordship the Bishop of St. Boni-

face, one who is generally beloved and esteemed in the land, and to whose mission, I doubt not, the highest attention will be paid. For my part, I would certainly like to see, in the person of His Lordship, a Commissioner invested with full power to give us what we want. But we have to be careful; for we do not know what that power is; and we must not rush blindly into the hands of any commissioners. Let us act prudently—that is all I urge; if we do so, we will be safe enough. This, gentlemen, is all I have to say. You cannot, of course, do anything to-day, in any way, even if all the members were present. Before we separate, let me say one word. Let us try to be more friendly. Why not? We are not going to fight any more—not at all. And I cannot, in this connection, but express regret at hearing unpleasant rumors from the Portage. These rumors cause fear all the time at the White Horse Plains. The people there are led to believe that they are going to be crushed some day or other. There is a want of assurance among our people, which has led to a guard being stationed in that quarter. I hope the Portage people will be able to disavow any such intentions, and give such assurances as will lead to a better state of things. If it is not fully according to the mind of the people, let not any one from that section deny the rumors. But if, on the contrary, the Portage people do not harbor the designs attributed to them, I hope it will be stated, so that a feeling of tranquillity and security may be diffused."

It will be observed that no allusion was made by Riel, in the above speech, to the shooting of Scott,—in fact it

is pretty certain that the deed had hardly been committed when it was repented of, and the serious consequences it might lead to were seen.

John F. Grant and Angus McKay were next taken prisoners, it is supposed, on account of their action in preserving Mr. Smith's credentials as Commissioner. It is certain, however, that Riel never forgave the part they took in that affair; but it was a short-sighted policy arresting them at that time, as it only tended the more to retard than to forward a settlement of the difficulties.

On the 9th March, the following was sent round in the shape of printed notices to the several councillors on the English side:—

"M.....

"You are hereby summoned to attend a meeting of the Council of the Provisional Government, to be held at Fort Garry, on Tuesday, 15th inst., at 10 o'clock, a. m.

"By order of the President.

"THOS. BUNN,

"*Secretary.*

"Headquarters Provisional Government,

"Fort Garry, 9th March, 1870."

The position of Bishop Taché, as a Commissioner from Canada, was much discussed amongst the people, and there was some word of getting up another mass meeting to hear him; but this was abandoned, as it was thought best to wait until the 15th to see what would be done in the council on that day.

Let us now see what were the views of the Canadian Government, as transmitted to Bishop Taché, in a letter from Hon. Joseph Howe, dated 16th February :—

"*The Very Reverend the Bishop of St. Boniface :*

"My Lord,—I am commanded by His Excellency the Governor-General, to acknowledge and thank you for the promptitude with which you placed your services at the disposal of this Government, and undertook a winter voyage and journey that you might, by your presence and influence, aid in the repression of the unlooked for disturbances which had broken out in the North-West.

(Here follows a memorandum of enclosures).

"Copies of the proclamation issued by Mr. McDougall, at or near Pembina, and of the commission issued to Colonel Dennis, having been printed in the Canadian papers, and widely circulated at the Red River, are, it is assumed, quite within your reach, and are not furnished; but it is important that you should know that the proceedings by which the lives and properties of the people of Rupert's Land were jeopardized for a time, were at once disavowed and condemned by the Government of this Dominion, as you will readily discover in the despatch addressed by me to Mr. McDougall, on the 24th of December, a copy of which is enclosed.

"Your Lordship will perceive in these papers the policy which it was, and is, the desire of the Canadian Government to establish in the North-West. The people of Canada have no interest in the erection of institutions in Rupert's Land, which public opinion condemns; nor

would they wish to see a fine race of people trained to discontent and insubordination, by the pressure of an unwise system of government, to which British subjects are unaccustomed or averse. They look hopefully forward to the period, when institutions, moulded upon those which the other provinces enjoy, may be established, and, in the meantime, would deeply regret if the civil and religious liberties of the whole population were not adequately protected by such temporary arrangements, as it may be prudent at present to make.

"A convention has been called, and is now sitting at Fort Garry, to collect the views of the people, as to the powers which they may consider it wise for Parliament to confer, and the local legislature to assume. When the proceedings of that conference have been received by the Privy Council, you may expect to hear from me again; and, in the meantime, should they be communicated to you on the way, His Excellency will be glad to be favoured with any observation that you may have leisure to make.

"You are aware that the Very Reverend the Vicar-General Thibault, and Messrs. Donald A. Smith and Charles de Salaberry are already in Rupert's Land, charged with a commission from Government. Enclosed are letters to those gentlemen, of which you will oblige me by taking charge; and I am commanded to express the desire of His Excellency, that you will co-operate with them in their well-directed efforts to secure a peaceful solution of the difficulties in the North-West Territories, which have caused his Excellency much anxiety,

but which, by your joint endeavours, it is hoped may be speedily removed.

"I have, &c.,

"JOSEPH HOWE."

Bishop Taché, on Sunday, the 13th, delivered an eloquent sermon, principally upon the state of affairs in the country; stating that it had been with sorrow that he heard of many of the acts committed by his people during his absence; and that Canada was prepared to grant them everything that was right. He referred to his long and arduous trip from Rome; and hoped that now he would see moderation and union amongst the people, with the common object in view, of doing what was right. He recommended charity and forbearance towards each other; and said that it was a time when Catholics and Protestants should put their religious differences aside, and work together for the common good.

The church was crowded to excess, and it was felt that the exhortation of His Lordship would have a beneficial effect on after events.

This latter proved to be the case, as from the day of the arrival of Bishop Taché in Red River, excitement calmed down to a great extent, and gave place to calmer judgment in dealing with the troubles of the country. Ever since the seizure of the Hudson Bay Company's cash box by Riel, the Company had refused to grant bills of exchange on London, and this caused a great deal of inconvenience and annoyance to merchants; at the same time, the circulation of small change, as well as Hudson's

Bay notes, became so limited, that trade suffered very much thereby; and parties doing business, had to manufacture "shin-plasters" or "due bills," for "three-pence" and upwards, to facilitate trading operations. These "shin-plasters" took the place of regular currency, for the time being; but the plan was felt to be neither a satisfactory nor a secure one.

A large company of Canadians, principally those who had been in prison, left the Settlement about this time, in company with Rev. Mr. Fletcher, Presbyterian minister; most of them being men who, through the troubles, had been thrown out of employment, and, therefore, dreaded remaining in the country in its unsettled state.

The second meeting of the council of the Provisional Government, took place on Tuesday, 15th, and the English members were punctual to the hour appointed; but the French did not make their appearance till about 10 o'clock, p. m.

Two notices of motions were given, which, after some discussion, were carried in the following form:—

"1. That we, the representatives of the inhabitants of the North-West, consider that the Imperial Government, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Canadian Government, in stipulating for the transfer of the government of this country to the Dominion Government, without first consulting, or even notifying the people of such transfer, have entirely ignored our rights, as people of the North-West Territory.

"2. That notwithstanding the insults and sufferings borne by the people of the North-West heretofore; which sufferings they still endure—the loyalty of the people of

the North-West, towards the Crown of England, remains the same, provided the rights, properties, usages, and customs of the people be respected; and we feel assured that, as British subjects, such rights, properties, usages, and customs will undoubtedly be respected."

During the interim between the giving of the notices of motion, and their ultimate adoption as above,—Bishop Taché was introduced to the council, and spoke as follows:—

"I can well understand the anxiety of the people at the crisis in public affairs with which we have to deal. I believe it to be an anxiety deep and wide-spread. Let me express the hope, however, that all feeling of this kind will cease. It is a hope grounded on my own conviction, that this anxiety is now needless, and that a brighter and better day will speedily dawn on this land. I do not come back, gentlemen, in any official capacity. When I arrived in Canada, it was understood that the people of Red River were sending down delegates; and hence it was not thought necessary to invest me with any powers as Commissioner. The Government pressed me to remain until the arrival of the delegates, but my anxiety of mind was such that I could not delay. I desired to be with my people at a period such as this, and hence I left Canada with all convenient speed. Short as my stay was, however, I had ample opportunity for becoming acquainted with this fact, that the intentions of the Canadian Government, as far as the people of this country are concerned, were good and praiseworthy. I can testify that they have no desire to overlook the political rights of the

people here. As an evidence of this, I will, with permission, read a telegram from the Hon. Joseph Howe, which I received since my arrival here. It was sent to me to St. Paul, in answer to another telegram I sent him, but it arrived there the day after I left. I despatched the telegram, I may say, in consequence of receiving at St. Paul, the 'New Nation,' containing a copy of the list of rights adopted by the convention. Mr. Howe's reply was:—'Propositions in the main satisfactory. But let the delegation come here to settle the details.' Let me say, further, that I believe that until recently the people of Canada were in perfect ignorance of the true state of affairs in this country; and it is not to be wondered at, as I myself, even after having spent most of my life in this country, was very far from knowing the actual state of affairs here, until I arrived the other day. I am a Canadian, and proud of that title. Many friends you have in Canada, both in the Government and outside; so be assured that nobody is desirous to oppress you."

His Lordship, in order to show the opinion entertained of Mr. McDougall's action at Pembina, read an extract from a speech of Hon. Mr. Howe, in the Dominion Parliament. The speaker condemned Mr. McDougall's action thoroughly, and stated that when all the papers, relating to the North-West, were laid before the House, it would be found that Mr. McDougall's position was unjustifiable.

"I will say again," said his Lordship, in resuming his speech, "that my own feelings towards the people of Red River, are unchanged in the least. As I have often said before, so say I now,—they have, one and all, without dis-

tinction of race, or language, or creed, my highest esteem and affection. If I may make a comparison to evince my regard, I would say—to show that I feel towards the people of Red River, as if they were all one body :—When one member of a body, say the right hand, suffers, the left hand sympathises with it. And so it is with us, as a people. So thoroughly do we sympathise with each other, that, when one section suffers, the other partakes of that suffering. In doing what I can, then, to mitigate that suffering, I feel that I am bound to do what is possible for all classes, equally." His Lordship then sat down, but soon after, he rose again and said—"An inspiration occurs to me. I would ask the president, as an act of grace, for the release of half of the prisoners."

Riel then promised that half the number of prisoners would be released that evening ; and that the balance would be liberated as soon as satisfactory accounts could be heard from Portage La Prairie, from which place he seemed to fear further trouble.

A vote of thanks to Bishop Taché, was then passed, and the council adjourned. The next day after the two notices of motions, already referred to, had been disposed of, it was resolved that a committee be appointed to frame a constitution for the Provisional Government; after which O'Donoghue gave notice that he would introduce a bill, providing that the two mile hay privilege, heretofore enjoyed, should be converted into fee simple ownership. Thus ended the second sitting of the council of the Provisional Government ; and Riel, true to his promise, liberated over fifteen of the prisoners, amongst whom was Major Boulton.

Excitement now began to calm down rapidly, and the people were anxiously looking forward to the departure of the delegates for Ottawa.

The "New Nation" about this time again fell under the displeasure of Riel, for having given what was considered an erroneous report of the introduction of Bishop Taché to the council. Major Robinson, no doubt, finding, like other Americans in the Settlement, that annexation to the United States was not as popular as had been thought, gave up the idea, and retired from literary life.

In the suppressed paper, there appeared the following letter from Mr. Scott, the delegate :—

"WINNIPEG, March 17th, 1870.

"*Editors 'New Nation,'*

"An article has been of late going the rounds of the papers, in which I am represented as an American citizen. Of course, there is always an uncertainty concerning matters of which you have no remembrance; and, although personally present at the period of my birth, I retain upon the pages of my memory not even the faintest imprint of the locality in which it occurred, or the circumstances attendant upon that eventful epoch. Nothing being certain in this life but mortality and taxation, I could not state as an indisputable fact that I am not a citizen of the United States, but content myself with saying that the family tree—which is painted in water colors, and framed in walnut, and hangs in the paternal mansion—devotes an entire branch to my origin and

antecedents. It states as a fact—which I have as yet no reason to doubt—that the place of my birth is the city of London, England. What particular star was in the ascendant at my natal hour, the tree doesn't say, but proceeds to run off into numerous little branches and twigs, which represent Scotts of a future generation. Having early had an explicit faith in the correctness of the family events, chronicled by this tree, instilled into my mind, I have always entertained the belief that I am a British subject, and owe my allegiance to the British Crown, although sincerely grateful for the compliment contained in the supposition of my being among the members of the thriving American citizens.

"A. H. Scott."

Notwithstanding the above, Mr. Scott was the acknowledged champion, or, at least, the representative of the American party.

On the 17th March, Oscar Malmoras, the American Consul at Winnipeg, who, to judge from his letters, appeared to know more about matters connected with the rising in its earliest days, than any one else outside those engaged in it, suddenly took it into his head to leave the Settlement at almost a day's notice. What made his departure seem more singular, was the appearance of a number of pamphlets shortly afterwards, containing his letters; which publicity of correspondence he had not probably bargained for.

It is rather curious to note all these sudden changes amongst the Americans, at a time when there was every

reason to expect a satisfactory settlement of the difficulties between Canada and the North-West.

Major Robinson was appointed Vice-Consul in the absence of Mr. Malmoras, a position which he held for some time afterwards in a highly satisfactory manner to all parties concerned.

Col. Rankin, who had arrived in the Settlement on the 5th March, now made himself rather conspicuous in going about the Settlement with a petition, addressed to the Dominion Government, for a grant of land, with a view of getting up a stock company to build a railroad: but when information of this reached the ears of Riel, the colonel received six hours' notice to pack up and leave the country. Rankin, no doubt, thought this rather summary treatment, but he had to submit, and made his arrangements accordingly. If a calm precedes a storm, it very frequently happens that one follows it—and so it appeared to be in this case. The Settlement, from a state of extreme excitement, suddenly seemed to have dropped into one of thorough tranquillity. The prisoners, one by one, were being released; the Provisional Government appeared at last to be in working order; a police force was established in the town; and the Settlement, generally, was unusually quiet and peaceable. Business revived, and people felt more security when going about, than they had done for some time.

On the 23rd March, the two delegates, Rev. Mr. Richot and Alfred H. Scott, left for Ottawa, in company with Col. de Salaberry; and Judge Black, who had at last con-

sented to act, started the next day, along with Major Boulton.

Riel had been busy for some days preparing the necessary papers for the delegates; and, as it may be interesting to our readers to know what these were, we will give them in full.

First of all, there was the following letter of instructions:—

"SIR,—Enclosed with this letter you will receive your commission, and also a copy of the conditions and terms upon which the people of this country will consent to enter into the Confederation of Canada. You will please proceed with convenient speed to the city of Ottawa, Canada, and, on arriving there, you will, in company with (the other delegates), put yourself immediately in communication with the Dominion Government, on the subject of your commission. You will please observe, that with regard to the articles numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 17, 19 and 20, you are left at liberty, in concert with your fellow commissioners, to exercise your discretion; but bear in mind that, as you carry with you the full confidence of this people, it is expected that in the exercise of this liberty, you will do your utmost to secure their rights and privileges, which have hitherto been ignored.

"With reference to the remaining articles, I am directed to inform you that they are peremptory. I have further to inform you that you are not empowered to conclude finally any arrangements with the Canadian Government; but that any negotiations, entered into between you and

the said Government, must first have the approval of, and be ratified by, the Provisional Government, before Assinniboia will become a province of the Confederation.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"THOMAS BUNN,

"*Secretary of State.*

"March 22nd, 1870."

The following is a copy of the commission :—

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"WINNIPEG, ASSINNIBOIA.

"*To*.....

"SIR,—The President of the Provisional Government of Assinniboia (formerly Rupert's Land and the North-West) in council, do hereby authorize and delegate you (the delegates) to proceed to the city of Ottawa, and lay before the Dominion Government the accompanying list of propositions and conditions, as the terms upon which the people of Assinniboia will consent to enter into confederation with the other Provinces of the Dominion. You will, also, herewith receive a letter of instructions, which will be your guide in the execution of this commission.

"Signed this twenty-second day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy.

"By order,

"THOMAS BUNN,

"*Secretary of State.*"

The following is a list of the terms and conditions which accompanied the commission and letter of instructions :—

" 1st. That the territories, heretofore known as Rupert's Land and North-West, shall not enter into the Confederation of the Dominion, except as a province, to be styled and known as the Province of Assinniboia, and with all the rights and privileges common to the different Provinces of the Dominion.

" 2nd. That we have two representatives in the Senate and four in the House of Commons of Canada, until such time as an increase of population entitles the Province to a greater representation.

" 3rd. That the Province of Assinniboia shall not be held liable at any time for any portion of the public debt of the Dominion contracted before the date the said Province shall have entered the Confederation, unless the said Province shall have first received from the Dominion the full amount for which the said Province is to be held liable.

" 4th. That the sum of eighty thousand dollars be paid annually by the Dominion Government to the Local Legislature of this Province.

" 5th. That all properties, rights and privileges enjoyed by the people of this Province up to the date of our entering into the Confederation be respected, and that the arrangement and confirmation of all customs, usages and privileges be left exclusively to the Local Legislature.

" 6th. That during the term of five years, the Province

of Assinniboia shall not be subjected to any direct taxation, except such as may be imposed by the Local Legislature for municipal or local purposes.

"7th. That a sum of money equal to eighty cents per head of the population of this Province be paid annually by the Canadian Government to the Local Legislature of the said Province, until such time as the said population shall have increased to six hundred thousand.

"8th. That the Local Legislature shall have the right to determine the qualifications of members to represent this Province in the Parliament of Canada, and in the Local Legislature.

"9th. That in this Province, with the exception of uncivilized and unsettled Indians, every male native citizen who has attained the age of twenty-one years; and every foreigner, being a British subject, who has attained the same, and has resided three years in the Province and is a householder; and every foreigner, other than a British subject, who has resided here during the same period, being a householder and having taken the oath of allegiance, shall be entitled to vote at the election of members for the Local Legislature and for the Canadian Parliament. It being understood that this article be subject to amendment exclusively by the Local Legislature.

"10th. That the bargain of the Hudson's Bay Company in the respect to the transfer of the government of this country to the Dominion of Canada be annulled so far as it interferes with the rights of the people of Assinniboia, and so far as it would affect our future relations with Canada.

"11th. That the Local Legislature of the Province of Assinniboia shall have full control over all the public lands of the Province, and the right to annul all acts or arrangements made or entered into with reference to the public lands of Rupert's Land and the North-West, now called the Province of Assinniboia.

"12th. That the Government of Canada appoint a Commissioner of Engineers to explore the various districts of the Province of Assinniboia, and to lay before the Local Legislature a report of the mineral wealth of the Province within five years from the date of our entering into confederation.

"13th. That treaties be concluded between Canada and the different Indian tribes of the Province of Assinniboia, by and with the advice and co-operation of the Local Legislature of this Province.

"14th. That an uninterrupted steam communication from Lake Superior to Fort Garry be guaranteed to be completed within the space of five years.

"15th. That all public buildings, bridges, roads, and other public works be at the cost of the Dominion Treasury.

"16th. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature and in the Courts, and that all public documents, as well as all Acts of the Legislature, be published in both languages.

"17th. That whereas the French and English speaking people of Assinniboia are so equally divided as to numbers, yet so united in their interests, and so connected by commerce, family connections, and other political and

social relations, that it has happily been found impossible to bring them into hostile collision, although repeated attempts have been made by designing strangers, for reasons known to themselves, to bring about so ruinous and disastrous an event:

"And whereas after all the troubles and apparent dissensions of the past, the result of misunderstanding among themselves, they have, as soon as the evil agencies referred to above were removed, become as united and friendly as ever: therefore, as a means to strengthen this union and friendly feeling among all classes, we deem it expedient and advisable

"That the Lieutenant-Governor, who may be appointed for the Province of Assinniboia, should be familiar with both the French and English languages.

"18th. That the Judge of the Superior Court speak the English and French languages.

"19th. That all debts contracted by the Provisional Government of the Territory of the North-West, now called Assinniboia, in consequence of the illegal and inconsiderate measures adopted by Canadian officials to bring about a civil war in our midst, be paid out of the Dominion Treasury, and that none of the members of the Provisional Government, or any of those acting under them, be in any way held liable or responsible with regard to the movement or any of the actions which led to the present negotiations.

"20th. That in view of the present exceptional position of Assinniboia, duties upon goods imported into the Province shall, except in the case of spirituous liquors, con-

tinue as at present for at least three years from the date of our entering the Confederation, and for such further time as may elapse until there be uninterrupted railroad communication between Winnipeg and Saint Paul, and also steam communication between Winnipeg and Lake Superior."

CHAPTER XVI.

CONSTITUTION ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL OF ASSINNIBOIA—CAUSES OF THE DISSATISFACTION EXISTING IN THE SETTLEMENT—LETTER FROM RIEL TO GOVERNOR MACTAVISH, IMPOSING TERMS ON THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY—PROCLAMATION—LAWS OF ASSINNIBOIA.



ON the morning of the 25th March, the Provisional flag was found to have been cut down during the night, and was lying on the ground. The men in the Fort did not succeed in hoisting it again until the 29th, and the person who cut it down was never discovered.

A good deal of discontent was felt about this time amongst the French towards Lepine on account of his overbearing manner towards them, and at last it culminated in a row, the result being that the Adjutant-General left the Fort and returned to his home. The quarrel, however, was soon afterwards made up, and Lepine, at Riel's request, returned to his post.

On the 26th of March the Council of the Provisional Government ended its labours for that sitting, and adjourned till the 26th April.

As our space will not allow us to give the whole proceedings in detail, we will content ourselves with laying a few of the principal motions and resolutions before our readers. The following preamble was first adopted, viz:—

"1st. That we, the people of Assinniboia, without dis-

regard to the Crown of England under whose authority we live, have deemed it necessary for the protection of life and property, and the securing of those rights and privileges which we are entitled to enjoy as British subjects, and which rights and privileges we have seen in danger, to form a Provisional Government, which is the only acting authority in this country; and we do hereby ordain and establish the following Constitution :—

"2nd. That the country hitherto known as Rupert's Land and the North-West be henceforth known and styled 'Assinniboia.'

"3rd. That our assembly of representatives be henceforth styled 'The Legislative Assembly of Assinniboia.'

"4th. That all legislative authority be vested in a President and Legislative Assembly composed of members elected by the people; and that at any future time another house, called a Senate, shall be established when deemed necessary by the President and the Legislature.

"5th. That the only qualification necessary for a member of the Legislative Assembly be, that he shall have attained the age of twenty-three years; that he shall have been a resident of Assinniboia for a term of at least five years; that he shall be a householder, and have rateable property to the amount of £200 sterling; and that, if an alien, he shall have first taken the oath of allegiance."

The following were the oaths of office as administered :—

PRESIDENT.

"I, Louis Riel, do hereby solemnly swear that I will faithfully fulfil, to the best of my ability, my duties as

President of the Provisional Government, proclaimed on the 24th November, 1869, and also all the duties which may become connected with the office of President of the Provisional Government of Assinniboia, as they may hereafter be defined by the voice of the people."

CLERK'S OATH.

"I, A. B., do solemnly swear that I will well and truly perform all the duties of Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of the Provisional Government of Assinniboia to the best of my ability; so help me God."

MEMBER'S OATH.

"I, A. B., do solemnly swear that I will, to the best of my ability, faithfully perform all the duties of a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Assinniboia; so help me God."

CHIEF JUSTICE'S OATH.

"In the name of God, Amen! I, A. B., do solemnly swear, on the Holy Evangelists, and in the presence of Almighty God, as I shall answer to God at the great Day of Judgment, that I will faithfully and impartially perform all the duties of Chief Justice of Assinniboia. I swear that I will not bear envy, hatred, or malice against any one; and that I will not act from fear, favor, or affection, or hope of reward in any case; but that I will faithfully act between all parties; so help me God."

Thus ended what was called the first session of the Legislative Assembly of Assinniboia.

On the 29th March, T. A. S. Donaldson and R. C. Burdick, two American citizens, were arrested, by orders of Riel, for some reason, but they were released that same afternoon; and it was said that Vice-Consul Robinson, expecting to follow in the footsteps of his countrymen, wrote a letter to the United States Government, to be forwarded to Washington, in case he should be imprisoned. A great deal of dissatisfaction was now experienced throughout the Settlement at the continued delay in re-establishing the Hudson's Bay Company as a commercial body; the utter prostration of business, and the want of proper civil law, was very much felt. The Indians, also, in the neighborhood of the Stone Fort, were very much discontented; and several efforts on the part of influential men, amongst others Bishop Machray and Bishop Taché, had to be made to keep them quiet.

A report also became current, about the same time, that the Sioux Indians were once more on the war path, and the consequence was another arming of settlers in case it should prove true; but word was soon afterwards received that the French guard at Lane's Fort had stopped the band, and sent them back to Portage La Prairie, from whence they came.

On the 31st March, Major Robinson was conducted to Fort Garry, by a guard of men, in order that he should give up the keys of the "New Nation" printing office, and, as soon as this was done, he was allowed to return to his quarters in the town. Thos. Spence then undertook the management of the paper, and, on the 2nd April,

it appeared once more; and from that day annexation to the United States was never once hinted at in its columns.

About this time it became known that negotiations were going on between Riel and Governor MacTavish, for the purpose of re-establishing the business relations of the Company with the people. The following is a copy of the communication on the subject, addressed by Riel to the Chief Officer of the Company:—

"*To William MacTavish, Esq., Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the North-West.*

"SIR,—In reference to our interviews regarding the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in this country, I have the honour to assure you that my great desire to open, as soon as possible, in the interest of the people, free and undisturbed, the commerce of the country.

"The people, in rallying themselves to the Provisional Government with unanimity, prescribes to each of us our respective conduct.

"The Provisional Government, established upon the principle of justice and reason, will fulfil its work.

"By the action of the Hudson's Bay Company, its commercial interests may be saved to a certain extent; but that is entirely for your consideration, and depends upon the Company itself. I have had the honor to tell you that arrangements were possible, and the following are the conditions:—

"1st. That the whole of the Company in the North-West shall recognize the Provisional Government.

"2nd. That you, in the name of the Hudson's Bay

Company, do agree to loan the Provisional Government the sum of three thousand pounds sterling.

"3rd. That, on demand by the Provisional Government, in case arrangements with Canada should be opposed, you do guarantee a supplement of two thousand pounds sterling to the above mentioned sum.

"4th. That there shall be granted, by the Hudson's Bay Company, for the support of the present military force, goods and provisions to the value of four thousand pounds sterling, at current prices.

"5th. That the Hudson's Bay Company do immediately put into circulation their bills.

"6th. That the Provisional Government shall also retain an additional specified quantity of goods in the store of the Hudson's Bay Company.

"In accepting the above conditions, the Hudson's Bay Company will be allowed to resume its business, under the protection of the Provisional Government.

"Fort Garry will be open; but, in the meanwhile, it being the seat of the Government, a small guard of fifty men will be retained.

"Only the buildings at present occupied by the Government will be reserved for Government purposes.

"Such, Sir, are the conditions which the situation imposes upon us.

"I have a duty to perform, from which I shall not retreat. I am aware that you fully possess the knowledge of your duty, and I trust that your decision will be favourable.

"Allow me here to express my deep feeling of sym-

pathy for you in your continued illness, and to sincerely trust that your health may be speedily restored.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"LOUIS RIEL,

"*President.*

"Government House,

"Fort Garry, March 28, 1870."

On the 2nd April the above terms were agreed to by Mr. MacTavish, and on the 8th the keys of the several warehouses in Fort Garry were given up, by Riel, to the Hudson's Bay Company. The latter, however, did not resume their regular business till the 27th, although, on the 9th, they granted bills of exchange on London, England.

Riel's men now went to work separating the goods they required from the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as the confiscated goods from Dr. Schultz, and hence the delay in giving up the keys of the warehouses.

The reason why the Company did not resume their business immediately afterwards, was because it took them some time to regulate their affairs after the shock they had sustained.

Word was now brought down, that the Indians at Portage La Prairie were very troublesome to the settlers in that neighborhood, and, on this account, a guard was sent up to afford them protection.

The Hudson's Bay Company packet for the north, consisting of dog trains, left Fort Garry about this time,

and with it instructions were sent to the localities of half-breed settlements in the interior, explaining the situation, with special orders to maintain the ordinary state of things, as in years before, so as to cause no agitation among the several Indian tribes. The Company's officials throughout the North-West were also notified by Riel that, in accordance with the arrangements entered into with the Provisional Government, their interests would be protected and promoted. The free-traders were ordered, at the same time, to use their influence in keeping peace throughout the country.

On the 7th April the following proclamation was circulated in printed form:—

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"FORT GARRY, April, 7, 1870.

"*To the Inhabitants of the North and of the North-West.*

"FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN, — You are aware, doubtless, both of the series of events which have taken place at Red River, and become accomplished facts, and of the causes which have brought them about.

"You know how we stopped, and conducted back to the frontier, a Governor, whom Canada,—an English colony like ourselves—ignoring our aspirations and our existence as a people, forgetting the rights of nations, and our rights, as British subjects,—sought to impose upon us, without consulting or even notifying us.

"You know also that, having been abandoned by our own government, which had sold its title to this country, we saw the necessity of meeting in council, and recog-

nizing the authority of a Provisional Government, which was proclaimed on the 8th December, 1869.

"After many difficulties raised against it by the partisans of Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company, this Provisional Government is to-day master of the situation, —because the whole people of the colony have felt the necessity of union and concord,—because we have always professed our nationality as British subjects; and because our army, though small, has always sufficed to hold high the noble standard of liberty and of country.

"Not only has the Provisional Government succeeded in restoring order and pacifying the country, but it has inaugurated very advantageous negotiations with the Canadian Government, and with the Hudson's Bay Company. You will be duly informed of the results of these negotiations.

"People of the North, of the North-West! You have not been strangers either to the cause for which we have fought or to our affections. Distance, not indifference, has separated us.

"Your brethren at Red River, in working out the mission which God assigned them, feel that they are not acting for themselves alone, and that, if their position has given them the glory of triumph, the victory will be valued only in so far as you share their joy and their liberty. The winning of their rights will possess value in their eyes only, if you claim those rights with them.

"We possess to-day, without partition, almost the half of a continent. The expulsion or annihilation of the invaders has rendered our land natal to its children.

Scattered throughout this vast and rich country, but united to a man,—what matters distance to us, since we are all brethren, and are acting for the common good?

"Recognized by all classes of the people, the Government reposes upon the good will and union of the inhabitants.

"Its duty, in officially informing you of the political changes effected among us, is to reassure you for the future. Its hope is that the people of the North will show themselves worthy of their brethren in Red River.

"Still the Government fears that, from a misapprehension of its views, the people of the North and of the North-West, influenced by evil intentioned strangers, may commit excesses fitted to compromise the public safety. Hence it is that the President of the Provisional Government deems it his duty to urge upon all those who desire the public good, and the prosperity of their country, to make the fact known and understood by all those half-breeds or Indians who might wish to take advantage of this so-called time of disorder, to foment trouble, that the true state of public affairs is order and peace.

"The Government, established on justice and reason, will never permit disorder, and those who are guilty of it shall not go unpunished. It must not be that a few mischievous individuals should compromise the interests of the whole people.

"People of the North and of the North-West! This message is a message of peace. War has long enough threatened the colony. Long enough have we been in

arms to protect the country and restore order, disturbed by evil-doers and scoundrels.

"Our country, so happily surrounded by Providence with natural and almost insuperable barriers, invites us to unite.

"After the crisis through which we have passed, all feel, more than ever, that they seek the same interests,—that they aspire to the same rights,—that they are members of the same family.

"We hope that you also will feel the need of rallying round the Provisional Government, to support and sustain it in its work.

"By order of the President,

"LOUIS SCHMIDT,

"*Asst. Sec'y of State.*"

On the 9th Riel issued the following—

"PROCLAMATION

"*To the People of the North-West.*

"Let the assembly of twenty-eight representatives, which met on the 9th March, be dear to the people of Red River! That assembly has shown itself worthy of great confidence. It has worked in union. The members devoted themselves to the public interests, and yielded only to sentiments of good will, duty and generosity. Thanks to that noble conduct, public authority is now strong. That strength will be employed to sustain and protect the people of the country.

"To-day the Government pardons all those whom

political differences led astray only for a time. Amnesty will be generously accorded to all those who will submit to the Government; who will discountenance or inform against dangerous gatherings.

"From this day forth the public highways are open.

"The Hudson's Bay Company can now resume business. Themselves contributing to the public good, they circulate their money as of old. They pledge themselves to that course.

"The attention of the Government is also directed very specially to the northern part of the country, in order that trade there may not receive any serious check, and peace in the Indian districts may thereby be all the more securely maintained.

"The disastrous war, which at one time threatened us, has left among us fears and various deplorable results. But let the people feel reassured.

"Elevated by the Grace of Providence and the suffrages of my fellow-citizens to the highest position in the Government of my country, I proclaim that peace reigns in our midst this day. The Government will take every precaution to prevent this peace from being disturbed.

"While internally all is thus returning to order, externally, also, matters are looking favorable. Canada invites the Red River people to an amicable arrangement. She offers to guarantee us our rights, and to give us a place in the Confederation equal to that of any other Province.

"Identified with the Provisional Government, our national will, based upon justice, shall be respected.

"Happy country, to have escaped many misfortunes that were prepared for her! In seeing her children on the point of a war, she recollects the old friendship which used to bind them, and by the ties of the same patriotism she has re-united them again for the sake of preserving their lives, their liberties, and their happiness.

"Let us remain united and we shall be happy. With strength of unity we shall retain prosperity.

"O my fellow countrymen, without distinction of language, or without distinction of creed—keep my words in your hearts! If ever the time should unhappily come when another division should take place amongst us, such as foreigners heretofore sought to create, that will be the signal for all the disasters which we have had the happiness to avoid.

"In order to prevent similar calamities, the Government will treat with all the severity of the law those who will dare again to compromise the public security. It is ready to act against the disorder of parties as well as against that of individuals. But let us hope rather that extreme measures will be unknown, and that the lessons of the past will guide us in the future.

"LOUIS RIEL.

"Government House,
"Fort Garry, April 9, 1870."

A rumour now was afloat that a box, containing Governor McDougall's correspondence relative to the North-West, had been discovered, and that a portion of the papers were to be published; people were, therefore, on the *qui vive* to see what they were like.

Riel, in the meantime, continued to furnish his quarters at Fort Garry in sumptuous style, using Governor McDougall's furniture for that purpose. He did not, however, increase his own popularity by this course, more especially amongst his own people, as they would have been better satisfied had he not indulged in such a parade of magnificence, which, in reality, was altogether foreign to their natures, never having been accustomed to anything beyond simplicity and plainness on the part of their rulers.

On the 20th April, Riel ordered the Union Jack to be hoisted at Fort Garry; but, as soon as this had been done, O'Donoghue, and a few of his immediate followers, took it down. This caused a row between the two leaders, and resulted in Riel threatening to place O'Donoghue in prison if he persisted in disobeying his presidential orders. The consequence was that the Union Jack was again hoisted, and O'Donoghue threatened to leave the Fort. Riel rose greatly in the public opinion by this act; and there is no doubt that, had he hoisted the British emblem in the earlier days of the troubles, it would have saved a great deal of the misery which followed. The settlers, generally, were attached to British institutions, and the fact of there being no outward show of respect on the part of the leaders of the French towards the British flag, tended greatly to cause a want of confidence in their intentions, and a mistrust that the rights of British subjects was not their aim. The Provisional flag, also, appeared to be simply a sectional affair, representing, as it did, only the French and Irish element; thus, as it were, ex-

cluding the other nationalities of the British Empire. The next day, after the disagreement between Riel and O'Donoghue, a party of men proceeded to Dr. Schultz's house, and, digging out the flag pole in front of it, carried it away and erected it in front of the Government House at Fort Garry; and, on the 23rd April, the Provisional flag was hoisted upon it, while the Union Jack continued to float from the centre staff of the Fort. O'Donoghue, therefore, to a certain degree, gained his point; and people formed the opinion that Riel was not as strong in power as he appeared to be.

It was now reported that a great seal was being prepared for the Provisional Government, but as it never appeared, it was, likely, one of the absurd rumors afloat at the time. The Red River now began to rise very rapidly, and many of the settlers feared a flood; so that between grasshoppers, political troubles, and overflowing of the river, the country seemed doomed to be swamped altogether.

On the 23rd April, the inhabitants residing along the banks of the Red River, enjoyed a sight which was altogether new in the history of the country. In the forenoon of that day, a large-sized, two-masted schooner appeared under full sail, coming from the direction of the Stone Fort. This turned out to be the "Jessie M'Kenney," bound for Pembina; and as soon as she had taken in some freight, opposite the town of Winnipeg, she again set sail for her destination, which she reached in safety; the high state of the water greatly assisting the passage of the vessel up the river. On the morning of the 24th,

the Union Jack was found to have been cut down during the night, and was not hoisted again until the 28th; people wondering, in the meantime, whether O'Donoghue was to have it all his own way. It was never discovered who perpetrated this outrage.

Rumors were now constantly afloat regarding Filibusters and Fenians, from the United States, coming into the Settlement; and these served to keep the settlers constantly in a state of uneasiness. At the same time it became known that a large party of American soldiers were to be stationed, early in the Spring, at Pembina, to guard the frontier.

The mails now happening to be very irregular, on account of the bad state of the roads between Fort Garry and Abercrombie, a strange report was circulated that the bags had been seized by Riel and burned in Fort Garry. This will show our readers the ridiculousness of many of the rumors that were afloat; especially when it is considered that it almost invariably happens that the mails are delayed in the early part of spring, to and from the east, on account of the impassability of the roads. This, however, was not considered; but because the bags did not arrive at their regular time, it was immediately concluded that they had been purposely destroyed.

A good deal of anxiety was now being felt regarding the delegates, and their reception at Ottawa. The delay of the mails, therefore, at that particular time was very annoying; and consequently special messengers were despatched to St. Paul to bring back word, if any there.

On the 3rd of May the Hudson's Bay Company com-

menced to issue their new currency, in order to meet the demand made upon them by Riel, as well as to carry on their own business, and keep up the circulation of the country. The following is the form of note issued by them, printed on a very poor quality of paper :—

"*No.....* *One Pound Sterling.* *No.....*

"On demand I promise to pay the bearer, at Fort Garry, the sum of One Pound Sterling, in a Bill of Exchange on the Hudson's Bay Company, London.

"Dated at Fort Garry this day of 1870.

"J. H. MacTavish,

"For Hudson's Bay Company."

On the 4th of May the captain of the Hudson's Bay Company's steamboat, "International," arrived at Fort Garry from Abercrombie, by canoe, bringing with him two telegrams from Rev. Mr. Richot, giving the information of his and Mr. Scott's imprisonment at Ottawa; but, at the same time, stating that they were in no personal danger.

Very little excitement occurred in the Settlement over the news; although some anxiety was felt lest anything should happen to the delegates, and thus be the means of causing further trouble amongst the French. On the 5th of May, the steamboat "International," started from Fort Garry for Georgetown, heavily laden with furs; and, as she was delayed at the landing for some time, it was feared, at one time, that Riel intended to stop her altogether.

The winterers and hunters now began to arrive from

the plains, laden with furs of all descriptions ; the buffalo especially having been very plentiful, the supply of robes was large. These men who had been away from the Settlement, during the troubles, did not appear to take any part with Riel when they came in ; and, in fact, seemed to keep aloof altogether from mixing in the affairs of the country, although there is no doubt efforts were made to induce them to join in with the movement. The so-called second session of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, finished their labours on the 9th May, and as we have not space to give their proceedings in full, we will merely give a list of the laws as passed by them at that sitting. Riel, before closing the session, stated that in the event of anything official coming from the delegates, he might call a special session of the Legislature.

Laws of Assinniboia, passed by the President and Legislative Assembly of Assinniboia, on the 7th Day of May, 1870.

Second Session of the Legislature.

[These laws come into operation on the 20th day of May, 1870 ; until which time the laws, under which the country has hitherto been governed, remain in full force. On and after the 20th day of May, 1870, all the old laws are repealed.]

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

I. All fines and forfeitures, when not otherwise appropriated, shall go to the Public Fund.

II. Every enactment shall be interpreted without regard to the distinction of gender or number.

III. If any person encourage, in any way, any violation of any local enactment, he shall be held to be as guilty as the principal offender.

IV. That, unless special regulation provide to the contrary, every wrong has its remedy under the general law of the country.

V. That the law of England shall be the law of the land, in relation to crimes and misdemeanors, and generally as to all civil rights, except wherein modified by the local law.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

I. That the Supreme Court of Assinniboia, shall be held four times a year, viz.: On the third Tuesday of February, of May, of August, and of November.

For the present year only the next sitting of the Supreme Court, will be held on the second Tuesday in June, 1870.

II. District Courts shall be held at such times and places as follows, viz.: District of

1. Manitoba—To include all the settlements in the immediate vicinity of Manitoba Lake.

2. Portage La Prairie—From the extreme end of the Settlement, along the Assinniboine River, down to the place at which the Long Lake touches the public road; on both sides of the river.

3. White-Horse Plain—To extend from where the Long Lake touches the public road to the Sturgeon Creek; on both sides of the river.

4. Fort Garry—To extend from Sturgeon Creek on the

Assinniboine River, and from Pembina down to St. Paul's Church on the Red River, and on both sides of each river. This district to include also Point de Chene.

5. St. Andrew's—To extend from St. Paul's Church to any of the settlements on or around Winnipeg Lake, and on both sides of the river.

District Courts shall be held as follows :—

1. Portage La Prairie on the first Tuesday in each month.

2. White-Horse Plain on the second Tuesday in each month.

3. Fort Garry on the fourth Tuesday in each month.

4. St. Andrew's on the third Tuesday in each month.

5. Manitoba on the fourth Tuesday respectively ; March, September, and December, and first Tuesday in June.

III. The Chairman of a District Court shall be a Justice of the Peace.

2. All the magistrates of a judicial district shall be entitled to sit at any court held for that district.

3. The Chairman and two District Magistrates shall form a quorum, the Chairman having a vote only when the other magistrates cannot come to a decision.

IV. The District Courts shall take cognizance:

1. Of all actions of debt for sums of not more than ten pounds sterling.

2. Of all offences which do not involve any other penalty than a fine of not more than two pounds sterling.

3. Of all cases arising from breach of the Liquor laws.

V. The losing party at a District Court may appeal to the Supreme Court, provided—

1. That notice of appeal be given at the same session of the Court; and provided—

2. That the appellant pay down the usual deposit required of all parties entering cases for the Supreme Court; also, the amount of the judgment rendered against him, or give satisfactory security for the same.

VI. In cases coming under the cognizance of the District Courts, and where plaintiff and defendant reside in different districts, the case shall be tried in the district in which the defendant resides; and if the plaintiff gain the case, he shall receive, in addition to the ordinary and necessary costs of the Court, such amount for loss of time, and expenses of travelling, as the Court may decide upon.

VII. That any District Magistrate shall have the right to issue a summons for his own district.

2. He shall also have the right to issue a summons for any other district, but such summons shall have no legal force, unless countersigned by a Magistrate of the district where such summons is to take effect.

VIII. If in any suits originally brought before the General Court, the Bench, after verdict is given against the defendant, shall unanimously decide that such suit ought to have gone before a District Court, the plaintiff in that case shall receive costs only as in such District Court.

IX. In any Court, either party to a civil action may be made the other's witness.

X. For every writ in civil action in the Supreme Court, there shall be payable to the Magistrate, issuing the same, three shillings and sixpence stg., and for every writ issued

by any of the District Magistrates, two shillings and sixpence stg., of which charges the sum of one shilling shall be paid to the constable serving the writ, the balance being retained by the Magistrate. For such shilling the constable shall be bound to serve any writ within five miles of his own residence; but for any distance he may be required to travel beyond that he shall be entitled to mileage at the rate of two pence a mile. These fees shall be payable to the Magistrate before issuing the writ, and every constable receiving a writ shall be responsible for the service thereof.

XI. In criminal cases jurors and witnesses shall be paid five shillings a day out of the Public Funds, and, in civil cases, five shillings per day for each case in which they serve; payable by plaintiff or defendant according to the decision of the Court.

XII. That on every case entered for the Supreme Court the plaintiff shall deposit the sum of one pound stg., which, if the case come on to trial, shall go towards the payment of the jury. But should the case not come to trial, the said deposit shall be forfeited if the case has not been withdrawn at least twelve full days previous to the day on which the Court sits.

XIII. That any person imprisoned, on account of any crime or misdemeanor shall receive daily, at the public expense, one pound of flour, one pound of pemmican, and water at discretion; and no person shall be imprisoned at the suit of any creditor, unless said creditor pay seven shillings weekly in advance for the board of said prisoner.

XIV. Summonses issued to defendants, coming before

the Supreme Court, must be served at least fifteen days before the first day of the session of said Court, and summonses to defendants in suits coming before any District Court must be served at least eight days before the session of said Court.

XV. In the Supreme Court trial shall be by jury, except where both parties desire it otherwise.

XVI. It shall be lawful for the Legislative Assembly, upon petition from any present resident of the country, who is recommended by at least three members of the Assembly, to issue a license to said petitioner to practise law in any of the Courts of the country, upon payment of two pounds stg. per annum in advance for every year subsequent to the year of admission; provided always that the number of such authorized practitioners of law does not exceed ten; provided, also, that when a practitioner fails to pay his annual fee, he ceases, *ipso facto*, to have the right to practise.

XVII. When a judgment debt is not paid at the time appointed by the Court, the Sheriff shall be obliged, at the request of the creditor, and on presentation of the record of such judgment, signed by the Clerk of the Court, to proceed at once to seize the goods and chattels, or other property of said debtor, and on giving fourteen days' public notice, to sell the same by public auction, so far as necessary to satisfy the debt, and all necessary expenses connected with such sale; provided always that said debtor be not deprived of necessary household furniture or utensils, or of such animals or implements as he must necessarily have to carry on his usual avocation.

Failing such goods, chattels or other property available for Sheriff's sale, the debtor may be imprisoned on the conditions specified in local law No. 13.

XVIII. That any creditor to the extent of not less than two pounds stg., on making oath, before a Justice of the Peace, to the correctness of the debt, and the fact of his belief in his debtor's intention to proceed to a foreign country or to a remote part of this country, shall have the right to compel the said debtor to give security for the amount of the debt, or, failing that, to apprehend and detain his person.

XIX. If, in the case contemplated by the preceding article, it appears after trial that the complainant had no ground of action, he shall be liable in damages to the defendant summarily, at the discretion of the Court.

XX. In the case of a debtor who has left those parts of this country over which our Courts have jurisdiction, for a period of one year, and has left property within said jurisdiction, such property, or as much of the same as will satisfy the claim of the creditor, shall, at the discretion of any two Justices of the Peace, if the creditor establish his claim to the satisfaction of said Justices, be liable to be attached, and assigned to some third party in trust, and if the debtor fail to appear before the competent Court, after summons by proclamation inserted three times in a local newspaper, and also posted three successive Sundays, in some conspicuous place, near all the churches within the district in which the property is situated, and also in the town of Winnipeg, said Court shall proceed to execute judgment in the premises; pro-

vided, always, that no such proceedings shall be allowable with reference to the property of any such absent person who had publicly notified his intention of departure for fifteen days previous to the date of the same.

XXI. Summonses for the General Court, and warrants, shall be issuable only by Justices of the Peace, and such writs shall have effect in any part of the country over which the General Court exercises jurisdiction.

XXII. In any dispute regarding debt not over the sum of three pounds stg., or damages not over one pound stg., any District Magistrate or Justice of the Peace shall have power to decide summarily, if both parties are agreeable, and from such decision there shall be no appeal. In such cases the Magistrate or Justice of the Peace shall be entitled to a fee of five shillings from the losing party.

XXIII. That no action for the recovery of debt be brought before the August term of the Supreme Court. Those who have not been in the Settlement since the first day of November, 1869, and those who may be preparing to leave the Settlement without satisfying their creditors as provided for in the 17th article under the heading "Administration of Justice," do not come under this law.

XXIV. Whenever any Judicial Officer of any Court is pecuniarily interested in the result of any suit before such Court, he shall, if requested by one of the parties to the suit, vacate his seat and take no part in the case in his capacity as member of the Bench.

XXV. Whenever the Sheriff is pecuniarily interested in the result of any suit in the Supreme Court, a special

jury shall, at the request of the party opposed to the Sheriff, be summoned for such suit by the Coroner, and whenever judgment is given against the Sheriff, either in the Supreme Court or in any District Court, and execution becomes necessary, it shall be the right and duty of the Coroner, or of any Justice of the Peace, at the request of the plaintiff, to execute the judgment of the Court, and in doing so, to call in the assistance of any constables or other persons necessary for the purpose.

XXVI. Any person who incurs debt or commits any crime or offence, in parts of the country beyond the jurisdiction of our Courts, shall be liable to prosecution whenever found within the limits of such jurisdiction.

XXVII. Every Justice of the Peace, Magistrate, Constable, or other public officer whatsoever, must be a British subject, who has resided at least three years in this country, and who is a householder or landowner.

XXVIII. A summons shall be considered as served, if left on any day, except Sunday or a legal holiday, with the defendant; or if (being within some judicial district) it be left at his domicile or place of business, with his wife or with any other adult member of his family, or any person in his employ, above the age of fifteen years.

XXIX. The Supreme Court shall be composed of a presiding Judge, and three or more Justices of the Peace.

XXX. The Supreme Court shall take cognizance of all crimes, offences, and causes of action whatsoever, not expressly assigned to the District Courts, and its jurisdiction shall extend to all parts of the country.

XXXI. Any barrister, advocate, attorney, or solicitor,

qualified to practise law in the United Kingdom, or in any British colony, shall be entitled to practise in the Courts of this country, on paying a licence of ten pounds per annum in advance.

XXXII. In all cases coming before any Court, or in cases of summary trial coming before any Justice of the Peace or District Magistrate, a record of the proceedings shall be kept, specifying the names of the plaintiff and defendant, the date and nature of the suit, the evidence in the case, and the decision.

CUSTOMS DUTIES.

I. All goods imported into the country from any part of the world, save such as may be specially excepted shall be subject to 4 per cent. *ad valorem* duty, the goods to be estimated at the price current of the original place of export.

II. The following shall be admitted free from customs duty :—

1. All bar-iron and steel.
2. All books, publications and stationery goods.
3. All scientific instruments.
4. All agricultural implements.
5. All baggage, apparel and utensils that have been or are in present use of the owner.
6. All seeds, roots, or plants.
7. All goods passing through the country in bond.
8. All cases, boxes, barrels, bottles or covering which contain goods or fluids of any description.
9. All monumental tablets or tombstones.
10. All grindstones and stoves.

11. All goods gratuitously given and originally intended for the benefit of the Indian missions in this country; also, all wines imported for church service.

12. All animals imported for the improvement of the breed of stock.

13. All mill and factory machinery.

III. There shall be three Collectors of Customs, residing severally at Pembina, Portage La Prairie, and at or near Fort Garry, whose residences shall be houses of clearance.

IV. A Collector of Customs shall have power to administer oaths, to search for and seize contraband goods, and to prosecute defaulters. He shall have power to call all Constables and all loyal subjects of Her Britannic Majesty to his aid; and all persons, not Constables, when called upon, shall be paid by the Collector, at the public expense, ten shillings per diem. A Collector of Customs shall also have power to exact and receive payment of customs duty, and to give receipts in discharge of the same.

V. The Collectors of Customs shall, twice in every month, pay into the hands of the Treasurer, who is *ex-officio* Receiver-General, all revenues received by them, together with a list of the persons paying and the value of the goods on which the duty has been paid; and the Collectors of Customs at Pembina and Portage La Prairie shall, once every fourteen days, transmit to the Collector at or near Fort Garry, a list of all clearances made by them.

VI. Each Collector shall, in addition to his salary, be entitled to one-fifth part of the proceeds of all lawful seizures made or caused to be made by him.

VII. All dutiable goods brought into this country, except such as may be imported by way of Hudson's Bay, shall be liable to detention by the Collector of Customs at the first house of clearance, unless such Collector be furnished by the owner or consignee, or agent of either, on or before the arrival of such goods into the country, with a duly attested invoice or manifest, showing the name of the consignee, and the quantity and prime cost value of the said goods.

VIII. The Collector may verify the accuracy of any invoice presented to him, by an oath administered to the party, or by examination of the goods; opening packages if necessary. On being therewith satisfied he shall exact payment of the duty, or, at his discretion, accept a bond for the amount, payable to any Collector of Customs within a period of one month, which bond may be sued for, and recovered the same as any other contract debt.

IX. Each Collector of Customs, on passing any goods at his clearing house, shall provide the person in charge of such goods with a clearance certificate.

X. In any case where the want of an invoice is, on the oath of the owner or consignee of the goods, or agent of either of them, declared to be unavoidable, the Collector at the first clearing house may either detain the goods, or forward the same in charge of some competent person or persons, to either of the other clearing houses, where the said goods shall be detained until payment of the duty thereon, or security obtained.

XI. All goods liable for duty, except such as may be imported by way of Hudson's Bay, shall be seized as con-

traband, unless protected by a certificate from the first custom house.

XII. The owner or consignee of all dutiable goods, imported by way of Hudson's Bay, shall report the quantity and prime cost of such goods to a Collector of Customs in Red River Settlement, within three months after the arrival of said goods in this country, and, failing to do so, the importer, owner or consignee of such goods, shall be liable to a penalty of not more than four thousand pounds sterling.

XIII. All goods seized as contraband shall, after public notice, be sold by auction for the benefit of the revenue, saving expenses and the rights of Collectors.

XIV. A duty of two shillings a gallon shall be imposed on all wines and spirituous liquors imported into the country.

CONSTABLES.

I. Constables, not less than sixteen in number, shall be appointed in the following districts :—

1. In Manitoba, 1.
2. „ Portage La Prairie, 2.
3. „ White-Horse Plains, 3.
4. „ Fort Garry, 7 (two of whom shall be on service specially in the town of Winnipeg).
5. In St. Andrew's, 3.

And every Constable shall have the power to demand the aid of any British subject to repress any disturbance of the public peace, or to execute any order of Court or of any Judicial Officer.

II. The following shall be the form of oath administered to every Constable:—

"I swear before God, that I shall, till lawfully discharged from my office of Constable for Assinniboia, be always ready, at all hazards, to serve and execute all legal writs, and to maintain the peace and security of the country against all enemies and disturbers of such peace and security; and that I shall obey all laws, and all lawful authorities within and for said country of Assinniboia; so help me God."

III. For any neglect of duty, any Constable may be suspended by any Magistrate, or may be discharged by the Supreme Court.

INTESTATE ESTATES.

I. When any person has died intestate, no person shall intermeddle with the property till he has received letters of administration from the Supreme Court of Assinniboia.

II. Letters of administration shall be granted to any one, approved by the Supreme Court, who may apply for the same, on such applicant satisfying the Court that the person whose estate he seeks to administer has died intestate, and giving satisfactory security to double the amount of the value of the estate, as appraised by two persons nominated by two Justices of the Peace, and after public notice is given three times in all local newspapers, and also posted at the doors of all the churches in the parish or parishes in which the property is situated. For such letters of administration the applicant shall pay to the Clerk of the Court the sum of seven shillings and six-pence.

III. That in all cases where the head or heads of a family die, the Supreme Court shall be, *ex officio*, guardians of the minors of the family of such deceased, until some authorized guardian be appointed.

POSTAL.

I. The General Post Office shall be in the town of Winnipeg.

II. The mails shall be carried between Winnipeg and Pembina, at the public expense, so as to connect with the United States mail.

III. The charge for postage between Winnipeg and Pembina shall be as follows:—

1. Letters, under half ounce, one penny, and a penny for each additional half ounce.

2. Magazines or Reviews, two pence.

3. Newspapers, one half-penny, except such as proceed directly from offices of publication, and those which come in as exchanges, on which there shall be no charge.

4. Books, half pound and under, four pence, and for every additional quarter pound, one penny.

5. All letters carried between the Post Offices in the county shall bear a charge of one penny each.

6. All local newspapers to regular subscribers coming from offices of publication, shall be carried free between the Post Offices in the country.

IV. Letters that have remained in a Post Office one month, uncalled-for, shall be returned to the General Post Office, and advertized three times in a local newspaper, and in a conspicuous place in the General Post Office at

Winnipeg. All letters so advertised shall bear an extra charge of three-pence each.

V. Branch Post Offices shall be established at the following places:—St. Andrew's, Headingly, Portage La Prairie, and St. Norbert.

FIRES.

I. If any hay in the prairie be destroyed by a running fire, the owner shall recover damages from the person who has kindled the fire, provided such hay has been protected at a distance of not less than twenty yards by a ploughed or burned ring at least twelve feet wide.

II. If, between the first day of May and the 1st of December, any person shall kindle a fire intended to run, he shall be fined ten pounds sterling, one half to go to the prosecutor. In default of payment, the offender may be imprisoned for three months in the common jail; and if any person, without having obtained the presence or assistance of at least six men, shall light a fire for the purpose of burning rings round hay, as allowed by the preceding law, he shall be held to have incurred the penalty attached to this law; provided that the Bench may remit the whole fine if the defendant hath both kindled the fire through necessity and done all in his power to prevent it from spreading.

III. If any fire in the open air, which is not intended to run, be left burning, every person who may have kindled or fed, or used the same, shall be fined, not less than five pounds, nor more than ten pounds sterling.

ANIMALS.

I. If one or more animals be found in an enclosure where they have done damage, the said damage shall be paid for by the owner and owners of such animal or animals found within the enclosure ; provided that where any such animals be known as "fence breakers," the owner or owners of such "fence breakers" shall be responsible for one half of the damage done.

If any stallion, eighteen months old or upwards, be found at large, the owner shall, upon conviction, be fined three pounds, half the fine to go to the captor, who shall deliver such stallion at the residence of any constable.

When a captured stallion has been placed in charge of a constable, it shall be the duty of such constable to keep the animal, or cause it to be kept, for one shilling per day, until the owner pay the fine and expenses of keep; and the constable shall, immediately on getting the animal, if the owner be not known, advertise the same three times in every local newspaper, and on three successive Sundays at the doors of two Protestant and two Roman Catholic churches, giving in such advertisements a full description of the animal; and, if the owner be not thereby discovered, said constable shall bring the case before the next District Court, and if legal capture and detention be proved, such Court shall order the sale of such animal for satisfaction of fine and expenses, any balance being paid into the hands of the Public Treasurer, in trust for the owner. Should the proceeds of the sale not cover fine and expenses, said expenses shall be a first charge, and the captor's half of the fine the next.

III. If any ram shall be found at large between the thirtieth day of July and the first day of December, such ram may be captured by any person, and placed in charge of a constable to keep, at a charge of three-pence a day, until the owner pay to the captor a fine of five shillings and expenses of keep; and, if the owner be unknown, the constable shall, immediately on getting the ram, advertise the same three times in every newspaper, and on three successive Sundays at the doors of two Protestant and two Roman Catholic churches—giving in such advertisement a complete description of the animal.

IV. If between the thirty-first March and first day of December, any pig or pigs be found at large, without a yoke, a foot and a half wide, and a foot and a half in height, and an iron ring in the nose, the owner shall not only be answerable for all damages committed by said pig or pigs, but shall also, if the animals or animals be captured, pay three shillings to the captor for each. Until so paid the captor shall keep such pig or pigs, and be entitled to one shilling a day for each animal, from the owner, to be paid before the animals are removed.

V. If any person take another's horse and use the same without the owner's consent, he shall, on conviction, be fined five pounds, or be imprisoned for one month in the common jail; half of the fine to go to the informer, and in the event of the guilty party being imprisoned, the informer shall be paid two pounds ten shillings out of the public funds. If a horse so taken shall be injured or lost, the person who took the animal shall indemnify the owner the full extent of the damages or loss.

VI. If any policeman, constable, or magistrate, on seeing any person using a horse, has any reasonable grounds for suspicion that said person does not own the animal, and has no permission to use the same, he may detain such person until it be shown that the horse is used of right.

HAY.

I. If any person cut hay outside what is now known as the Four Mile line, before the twenty-first day of July, he shall forfeit the same or the value thereof.

II. If any person cut hay on another's ground without permission, he shall forfeit the same to the person injured, without receiving any allowance for his labor; but, if he trespass in ignorance, he shall still forfeit as before, but shall receive compensation to the extent of half the value of his labor.

III. Where the people of any district cannot enjoy what is known as the "Two Mile Hay Privilege," and a tract of land in lieu of such be granted, special regulations shall be made for such cases.

LIQUOR LAW.

I. If any person supply or sell to any unsettled and uncivilized Indian the means of intoxication he shall, on conviction, be fined as follows:

1. Two pounds for furnishing any brewing utensils, the fine to go to the informer.

2. Three pounds for furnishing malt, the fine to go to the informer.

3. Five pounds for furnishing beer or any fermented liquor, the fine to go to the informer.

4. One hundred pounds for furnishing distilled spirits, or any intoxicating drink, other than fermented liquors, half the fine to go to the informer.

In every case the offender, after conviction, shall be imprisoned until the fine is paid. In every case where a person is found guilty of a breach of this law a second time, the fine in such cases shall be doubled.

II. In addition to the fines mentioned in the preceding article, the offender shall make restitution to the Indian of what he may have received, if anything, for such furnishing, and when the consideration is not money, it shall for the purposes of restitution be valued at prime cost.

III. If an intoxicated Indian commit or threaten to commit any injury to person or property, he shall, in addition to special punishment for such conduct, be imprisoned until he disclose the name of the person who furnished him the means of intoxication.

IV. If any person be found with any of the above specified means of intoxication among Indians, he shall be held guilty of furnishing such means of intoxication to them, unless he shall prove that such liquor is for his own use or for the use of such civilized person as may be with him, or that it is in transit for any civilized person or persons. Any violation of this article may be punished in the manner set forth in article I., subsection 4.

V. No person shall sell spirits, wine or beer, in any

quantity under five gallons without obtaining a license, as contained in the following schedule :—

"A. B., having paid ten pounds, is hereby licensed, from this date to the first week-day in December 187–, inclusive, to sell spirits, wine or beer, in any quantity, under the following restrictions, viz.:—

1. He shall not sell to any person between the hours of ten at night and six in the morning.

2. Nor to any person, at any time, during Sunday, Good Friday and Christmas Day.

3. Nor at any time to any intoxicated person.

4. Nor shall he at any time sell to any uncivilized and unsettled Indian, either directly to the Indian, or knowingly, on the part of the seller, indirectly to another for the Indian.

5. All manufacturing and selling shall be confined to the premises for which this license is granted.

6. The violation of any of these restrictions shall make this license null and void.

Any proved breach of any of the conditions of the license shall cause the forfeiture of the same, without any right on the holder's part to the restitution of any portion of the license fee. And whenever the breach involves also the violation of the laws against the intoxicating of Indians, the seller, besides losing his license, shall be liable to all such penalties as he shall have incurred under the said law.

But against any judgment of any District Court ordaining such forfeiture or imposing such penalties, any aggrieved person may appeal to the next ensuing General

Court, on giving security for such penalties, in case where any are imposed, as well as further cost of the original action, and also on making the usual deposit of £1 for entering the appeal. But where an appeal is made, the District Court shall still have the power of suspending the license till the appeal is disposed of.

Excepting in the case of a person making wine or beer for his own family use, and not for barter or sale, any person who shall manufacture or sell any spirits, wine or beer without a license shall, on conviction before a District Court, be liable to a fine of not less than twenty, and not more than thirty pounds sterling, for each offence, and failing immediate payment of the fine, he shall be liable to imprisonment for a period of not less than twelve, and not more than twenty weeks; provided, however, that at any time during the period of imprisonment he shall be entitled to be discharged on paying the fine.

But against any such decision before any District Court any aggrieved person may appeal, as aforesaid, in giving security for the fine and the cost of the original action, besides making the usual deposit of £1 for entering the appeal.

On payment of the sum of ten pounds it shall be lawful for the District Magistrates in their several districts assembled on the first week-day in December, but on no other day throughout the year, to grant retail liquor licenses according to the foregoing law; and every applicant for a license shall be bound to lodge his application with the President of the Bench of the proper

district, not later than the 15th day of November, specifying therein the premises for which the license is asked. And on the first Sunday thereafter the President shall give public written notice at all the public places of worship in the applicant's district, and also in any other district in which any of the nearest neighbors reside, and also in all local papers, mentioning the names of the persons applying for the licenses and specifying their premises, together with the day appointed for disposing of the applications.

But in the case of any such application where the granting of a license is objected to by a majority of the householders of the neighborhood of a house where a license is intended to be used, the Bench shall have no power to grant the license; and such objectors shall, at any time between the date of the public notice and the date fixed for disposing of the application, be entitled to intimate their objection, either personally or in writing, to the President of the Bench, without, however, being bound to assign any reason for their objection.

For the purposes of this regulation, the word "householder" shall mean the head of a family occupying a separate house, or if occupying only a part of a house, a tenant for not less than one year, and not being the hired servant of any applicant for a license.

And the word "neighborhood" shall mean the twelve householders who, irrespective of district, are nearest to the house intended to be licensed.

In the case of any application, whatsoever, for a license,

whether it be objected to or not, by a majority of the neighborhood, the Bench shall have full discretionary power to refuse the license, whensoever, on grounds relating to the public interest, they think it would be improper to grant it.

Any person may sue an offender for manufacturing, illegally, spirits, wine, or fermented liquors, or selling the same without a license, and shall be entitled to half the fine actually recovered.

Any person may also sue any license holder for the breach of his license; and, where there is a fine besides a forfeiture of license, the prosecutor shall be entitled to half the fine actually recovered.

No liquor license shall on any conditions be granted to any person intending to carry on the manufacture or sale of spirits, wine or beer, in any part of what is known as the Indian Reserve.

From and after the first week day in December, every wholesale dealer in spirits, wine or beer, shall pay ten pounds a year; and every person selling spirits, wine or beer by wholesale, without a license in the subjoined form, shall be liable to a penalty of not less than twenty pounds sterling, and not more than thirty pounds sterling, for each offence, to be recovered in the same way as the penalties for breach of the liquor laws generally.

By the term "wholesale dealers," shall be understood a seller of spirits or wine in quantities, at a time, of not less than five gallons each, and of beer in quantities of not less than eight gallons.

All wholesale licenses shall be granted by the President

of the Fort Garry District Court, on the first week-day of December, and on no other day.

FORM OF WHOLESALE LICENSE.

"C. D., having paid £10, is hereby licensed, for one year from this date, to sell spirits and wine, in quantities of not less at a time than five gallons each; and beer, in quantities of not less at a time than eight gallons."

On payment of the sum of £15, it shall be lawful for the District Magistrates, in their several districts assembled, during the session of any District Court, to grant a license to any person to manufacture, and sell by wholesale, spirits, wine or beer.

ROADS.

I. That all public roads remain the width they have been laid out, till other arrangements are considered necessary by the Legislature.

II. If any person cut a hole into or through the river ice, except in the case of what is known as a water hole, he shall, unless he surround the same with a fence at least four feet high, be liable to a fine of one pound sterling, and also for the damage or loss occasioned by such hole. Every water-hole shall be marked at the point nearest to any public track, with a pole at least six feet high.

III. A Commissioner of Public Works shall be appointed, who shall be responsible for the state of the roads and bridges, and for all sums of money expended on Public Works, as well as for all damages caused by a neglect of his duty. And when any Public Work is to be exe-

cuted by contract, tenders for such work shall be publicly invited, and the lowest tender shall be accepted if otherwise satisfactory; but in any case the party whose tender is accepted must have two good sureties for the due execution of the contract.

CHAPTER XVII.

BIOGRAPHY OF GOVERNOR MACTAVISH—DR. COWAN'S CAREER IN THE NORTH-WEST—RETURN OF THE DELEGATES—REV. MR. RICHOT'S SPEECH—PROCLAMATION OF COL. WOLSELEY—LETTER OF GEN. LINDSAY—LETTER OF O'DONOGHUE.

AN Executive Council was formed at the end of the second session of the Legislative Assembly, for the purpose of meeting once a week, to discuss any matters of importance that might occur from time to time.

On the 17th May, the steamboat "International" started on her second trip to Georgetown, having on board Mr. MacTavish and family, who were on their way to reside in England, hoping thereby that the Governor's health might be restored by a change of climate. A number of persons went down to the landing to see them off; and, a short time before the hour of starting, the Governor drove down to the bank of the river, and there alighted, being assisted in doing so by Mr. Hargrave, his secretary, and Mr. J. H. MacTavish, the accountant at the Fort. All were shocked at the feeble appearance of the old man, reduced, as he was, almost to a skeleton. Resting on his walking-stick, he tottered slowly along towards the steamer, every now and again casting his eyes around, as if bidding farewell to the scenes of so many years' labor. Those who watched the departure of

Governor MacTavish were deeply touched at the sight of a man who had given his life, as it were, for the country, leaving it in the state he was, enfeebled and broken down, —a wreck of manhood,—brought on, as it was well known, through his hard work and anxiety in behalf of the country and those living in it.

Governor MacTavish lived only two days after his arrival in Liverpool, and those, who had stated that, while he lay on his sick bed in the Settlement, he was only shamming, must have felt how guilty they had been in uttering such a vile and untruthful slander on a good man.

The following is a short biography of his career while in the North-West :—

"Mr. MacTavish first came to Rupert's Land in 1833, when he entered the Hudson's Bay Company's service in the usual way, as an apprentice clerk. For a number of years he served at various posts in the country; and, in 1846, was promoted to the rank of Chief Trader. He was then in charge of York Factory, which, before the opening up of the route through the United States, was the headquarters of the Company's business in North America. In 1852, he received his Chief Factorship, and in 1857 he first came to reside at Fort Garry, as officer in charge of the Company's commercial operations in this Settlement. In 1859, on the retirement of Judge Johnson from the local governorship of Assinniboia, Mr. MacTavish succeeded him in that office; and, on the death of Sir George Simpson, in 1860, he succeeded to the temporary occupation of acting governorship of Rupert's Land. In 1862, this

office was, to all appearance, permanently conferred on a gentleman who had previously held a seat at the Board of Directors of the Company in London. Mr. Dallas resided, as Governor of Rupert's Land, for two years at Fort Garry, and during that time mixed himself up very prominently with our local affairs. This administration was, as every one knows, a failure, and brought out, in the most marked manner, the worst defects of what is known as the Hudson's Bay *regime*. In 1864, Mr. MacTavish finally succeeded him as Governor. Since that time he has resided in the Red River as Chief Magistrate, leaving the Settlement, from time to time, on tours through the interior of the territory and visits to England, but always retaining his headquarters at Fort Garry.

"The whole term of thirteen years, during which Mr. MacTavish resided in the Colony, has been one of transition. Previous to 1857, the Settlement was a mere isolated spot in the Indian country, possessing only one means each year of freight communication with the outside world; that being afforded by the Company's ship to York Factory. Since then, however, the most important changes have been silently but steadily in progress. A route, over which a semi-weekly mail now travels, has been opened up through the adjacent territories of the United States; and Fort Garry, from the position of headquarters of our inland district, has risen to be the central point of the Company's business, and the depôt for supply of wants in the Fertile Belt. In actual size and importance, the Colony has also greatly increased. With a mixed population, difficulties have made themselves felt

in the mode of government, creating necessities for changes of a sweeping character in the administration. In connection with all these events, we know of no man who has exercised equal influence with Mr. MacTavish.

"For a number of years previous to his death, his health had been frail. His well-known habit of attending to minute details of business incumbered him with a superfluity of work, the burden of which was too great for any man, and was, doubtless, largely instrumental in reducing him to his debilitated condition. During the winter of 1868–9 he visited England, with the object of securing able medical advice; but, on his return to Red River, his friends were concerned to see him, apparently, weaker than ever. Notwithstanding this, Mr. MacTavish went to Norway House, June 1869, as usual, and presided at the council of factors and traders connected with the fur trade. On his return, in the end of July, he was obviously in a very critical condition. After the end of August, he was permanently confined to his house, which he never left throughout the winter. The political and military events of the period told very severely upon him; and the anxieties attending his position doubtless, to some extent, retarded his convalescence."

On the same day that Mr. MacTavish left, Riel held a meeting, to which the winterers and plain-hunters had been invited; but it is said he made little, if any, impression upon them.

Word was now being received in the Settlement of the indignation meetings held in Canada; but they did not cause much excitement in Red River; people felt that

Schultz was only making the most of his position, and that the day would come when the true state of matters would be laid before the Canadian public. There were many others who had suffered as severely through the troubles as Dr. Schultz, yet he seemed to be the one singled out as the martyr; when it was well known that, had he not taken up the position he did in the early part of the troubles, many of the occurrences which afterwards took place would never have happened.

Captain Gay now had command of the men at Fort Garry, and frequently took them out for cavalry and artillery practice on the prairie. Of course, the movements were primitive in their nature, and simply a burlesque on regular practice. Otherwise, the Settlement remained in peace, order reigned, and business having received an impetus, since the recommencement of the Hudson's Bay Company as a commercial body, went on as in the days of old. Money was more plentiful, and a sense of security pervaded the community; yet, through it all, small clouds of gloomy forebodings and uncertainty would arise, and people would ponder over the future, and wonder what the end would be.

The 24th May, Queen's Birthday, was celebrated in good style; people assembled in parties all over the Settlement to enjoy themselves—horse-racing was the principal feature of the day—but, altogether, so much good feeling existed between all classes, that one could only wonder at the change from a few weeks previous. A certain degree of underground feeling, however, existed amongst a certain class, on account of rumors received from abroad concern-

ing the intentions of the Canadian Government; and the continued delay, in the return of the delegates, tended to increase this feeling. Information, however, was received that the Bill of Rights had been favorably considered, and that everything fair had been done towards the settlers by the Government at Ottawa. The delegates were also reported to be on their way to the Settlement, well pleased with the result of their mission. These reports, therefore, assisted in quieting down any feeling that existed, and matters once more went on in an orderly manner.

On the 31st May, Dr. Cowan left Fort Garry for Scotland, *via* York Factory, Hudson's Bay, going with the Norway House brigade of boats. The following is a short biography of his career in the North-West:—

"He came to Red River in 1849, from Scotland, in company with Bishop Anderson and party. Shortly after being located in the Settlement, he was made a J. P., and received his commission as one of the Council of Assiniboia. From that time till 1856 he practised his profession generally at Fort Garry and throughout the Settlement, with the greatest satisfaction to all, and became immensely popular. He then was removed to Moose Factory, as surgeon in charge of that Fort. In 1860 he was made a Chief Trader, and in 1862 returned to Red River Settlement. In 1864 he visited England, and, on his return in 1865, was sent to Norway House, as surgeon of that establishment; returning to Fort Garry in 1866, where he was shortly afterwards put in charge, to assist

Governor MacTavish, and remained in that capacity until his final retirement."

Nothing of importance now occurred in the Settlement until the 17th June, when Rev. Mr. Richot arrived, by the steamboat "International." Soon after his arrival, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the walls of Fort Garry, thus announcing, as it were, the success of his mission to Canada; and on the 24th, a special session of the Legislative Assembly was held, to hear his report, which resulted in the terms offered by Canada, in the Manitoba Act, being accepted on behalf of the people.

Rev. Mr. Richot then spoke as follows :—

"As delegate, you will understand, of course, that my position was a very difficult one. The Manitoba Bill passed; but, you will observe, it differed from our Bill of Rights; and, as delegates, we could not say if the people of the North-West could accept it. Hence, though fully alive to the fact that we had many friends in Canada —in the Legislature as well as out of it—we could not express to them our sense of gratitude. The only thing we could do was to thank them for their sympathy. But now that our work, and that of the Canadian Parliament, has been ratified by this House, my desire is, first, to thank the people of this country for the noble stand they have taken on this question. I have to thank the Canadian Ministry—particularly Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier—for the liberal Bill framed by them, with the assistance of the delegation. I have to thank the Dominion House of Commons and Parliament generally: for while 120 voted with us, only 11 were found against

us. I have to thank also the Queen of England, whose subject I have always been—whose subject I am to-day. But, above all, I have to express thanks and gratitude to a higher Power than all others. I have to thank an over-ruling Providence for having been led through so many difficulties and dangers. Nor must we, at this time, think harshly of those who did not dare to come with us and demand rights; for it was a very risky and imprudent thing. That we succeeded is due to Providence. We have succeeded—but we have seen how difficult the task was. Why? Because we were divided. But now that we are united, we will be a strong people, and our little Province will be the model Province of Confederation. We will have an influx of strangers here. We want them, and will be glad to receive them. But let us be intelligent enough to distinguish between the good and those who only come with selfish ends—to work against us. Let me add to what I have stated, in regard to the Manitoba Act, that at first it was intended that Portage La Prairie should be left out of the Province. This had been opposed by the delegates—those who worked for it were the enemies of the Portage—and as soon as Ministers understood the matter fully, they included that district in the Bill. I would, for my part, like it to be well understood that all I have done in the past has been done in good faith, and with a desire to serve the country. I have never tried to work against any part of the people. As one of the delegates, I brought the Bill to Canada, and on that Bill worked for the people of the country, as a whole, without distinction. I offer my

sympathy to every denomination in the country, and will repeat that, if there were some among us who did not dare to oppose McDougall, they were, perhaps, right. While in Canada, let me say, in closing, not only had we all the sympathy and attention we could have expected, but admiration was expressed for the stand taken by the people, who had, it was held, shown themselves to be a reflective, prudent people—wise to plan—resolute to act —so that, although jeopardised through dangers of the greatest magnitude, they passed almost unscathed through the crisis. It is easy to raise objections to the Manitoba Act, starting from an American point of view. I have heard many such objections. But these possess no weight with us."

After the reverend gentleman had spoken as above, the assembly adjourned.

A guard, about this time, was stationed at Pembina, for some reason or another, to watch all parties coming into the Settlement, and stop, if necessary, any suspicious persons.

Some individuals now began stirring up a feeling, amongst the English settlers, against the Manitoba Act, on the grounds that it gave too much to the French and too little to them. This movement, however, did not amount to anything.

Bishop Taché left the Settlement on the 27th June, on a mission to Canada, partly on account of matters connected with the Church, as well as on the affairs of the country. Many said that he had gone to secure an amnesty for Riel and his immediate associates; but his

errand to Ottawa on that occasion has never been revealed.

In the meantime, matters went on quietly in the Settlement. Buildings were erected ; business continued brisk, and everything appeared in a state of prosperity ; and no word was heard of any opposition to be made against the entrance of the troops when they arrived.

On the 8th July, delegate Scott arrived at Fort Garry; but no demonstration was made in recognition of his position as a delegate, other than a notice which appeared in the "New Nation," announcing his return to the Settlement.

On the 18th of July, a large party of Red Lake Indians arrived ; and it is said Riel had an interview with them, and gave them presents. Whatever may have been their purpose, they remained in camp at St. Boniface for some time ; but committed no depredations during their stay.

On the evening of the 20th July, as the steamboat "International" arrived at Fort Garry, some excitement was occasioned by the report that a stranger had jumped from her side before she reached the landing-place, and had disappeared in the gloom. Guards were sent in every direction, to search for the missing man, but he was no where to be found. Mr. Wm. Drever, who had arrived by the steamer, and who, it was said, had been seen in the company of the stranger, was then arrested ; but nothing was elicited, except that the person who had thus unaccountably disappeared was a Captain Butler, supposed to have come on some mission in connection with the troops. It is said that Captain Butler brought with him the fol-

lowing proclamation, from Col. Wolseley, which Riel, having superintended the printing of it himself, had circulated throughout the Settlement:—

"*To the Loyal Inhabitants of Manitoba:*

"Her Majesty's Government having determined upon stationing some troops amongst you, I have been instructed by the Lieutenant-General, commanding in British North America, to proceed to Fort Garry with the force under my command.

"Our mission is one of peace, and the sole object of the expedition is to secure Her Majesty's sovereign authority.

"Courts of Law, such as are common to every portion of Her Majesty's Empire, will be duly established, and justice will be impartially administered to all races and to all classes—the loyal Indians or half-breeds, being as dear to our Queen as any others of Her loyal subjects.

"The force which I have the honor of commanding, will enter your Province representing no party, either in religion or politics, and will afford equal protection to the lives and property of all races and of all creeds.

"The strictest order and discipline will be maintained, and private property will be carefully respected. All supplies, furnished by the inhabitants to the troops, will be duly paid for. Should any one consider himself injured by any individual attached to the force, his grievance shall be promptly enquired into.

"All loyal people are earnestly invited to aid me in carrying out the above mentioned objects.

"G. J. WOLSELEY.

"*Colonel, commanding Red River Force.*"

General Lindsay afterwards changed the above to a certain extent, to the effect that the expedition was purely military in its character, for the preservation of peace and order; and that Courts of Law were altogether out of their line as soldiers. The following is a copy of his letter on the subject :—

"CLIFTON HOUSE, CLIFTON, July 11th, 1870.

"MY LORD,—Colonel Wolseley, commanding the Expeditionary Force *en route* to Fort Garry, has transmitted to you a Military Proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of Manitoba, which will be forwarded to you *via* Winnipeg.

"I have the honor to request that before issuing it, you will have the goodness to erase the paragraph in which the English translation commences with the words "Courts of Law,——" and terminates with those of "Her loyal subjects"—legal affairs being altogether within the functions of the civil authorities.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"JAS. LINDSAY,

"*Lieut.-General,*

"*Commanding H. M. Forces in British*

"*North America.*

"Right Rev. Bishop Taché, Fort Garry."

This was the first intimation of the near approach of the troops. The same day, on which the Proclamation was issued, Captain Butler made his appearance in the

town of Winnipeg, and, while on a visit to Fort Garry, Riel met and had a conversation with him.

O'Donoghue who had not, it appears, been consulted about the issue of Col. Wolseley's Proclamation, wrote the following letter to the editor of the "New Nation," which, however, that gentleman refused to publish :—

"EDITOR 'NEW NATION.'—Sir,—Having noticed the tranquillity of affairs considerably disturbed for the past two days, would it be amiss to enquire into the cause? We have remarked immediately after the landing of the 'International,' guards flying in all directions, and found out, on enquiry, that some mysterious person, or passenger thereon, had made a leap from the boat as she turned the point to enter the Assinniboine. Now who can this bold, daring adventurer be? Are we always to be disturbed by foreigners making their way into this country in disguise? Again, this morning, the curiosity of the public was aroused by a proclamation supposed to be from Col. Wolseley, to the 'loyal' inhabitants of Manitoba. The issuing of which from your office, this morning, explains the curiosity we had about your office being lighted up all last night, and the presence of President Riel there superintending the work. Many people seem to doubt the authenticity of this proclamation, and want to know if certified to by any person; but this is impossible, as it came by mail. We are afraid the whole thing is another Col. Dennis affair.

"Please answer the queries, and oblige the public.

"Yours,

"A SUBSCRIBER."

To the above was added the following :—

"As you have not required correspondents' names, it is not necessary to have the writer's. Let the President come out with explanations.

"Yours,
"O'D."

O'Donoghue, it was said, at that time favored a resistance on the part of the people, to the entrance of the troops, but Riel would not agree to it, and, in fact, felt inclined to welcome them in.

The next thing which appeared was the following notice :—

"DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

"LABORERS WANTED.—Notice is hereby given, that from two hundred to two hundred and fifty men are immediately required to make a cart road from the east end of Mr. Snow's road to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods.

"Engagements made at the Office of the Hudson's Bay Company, Upper Fort Garry.

"Five shillings sterling per day, and board, will be given to axe men and laborers.

"By order of

"G. J. WOLSELEY,
"*Colonel, commanding Red River Expeditionary Force.*

"J. H. MACTAVISH,
"*Hudson's Bay Company.*"

The "New Nation" was stopped on the 13th August, on account of the following article on Col. Wolseley, which appeared to be distasteful to Riel :—

"COLONEL G. J. WOLSELEY.—This gallant officer, who commands the Red River Expedition, has been for several years Deputy Quarter-Master-General in Canada. He attained his present rank in the army in 1865, and was attached to the 90th Foot. In 1866 he commanded the Military Camp of Instruction at Laprairie. His selection for the present important service was generally anticipated when the expedition was announced—the authorities in England and Canada having the fullest confidence in his ability and impartiality in the command of such a mixed force. Col. Wolseley is the author of a work on 'China,' and also the 'Soldier's Pocket Book for Field Service.' The numerous decorations worn by him (six medals and the Victoria Cross) bear testimony to the extent and gallantry of his services in the field, his regiment (the 90th Light Infantry) being entitled to sport upon their colors, among many other names, those of 'Sevastopol' and 'Lucknow.' It is all the more satisfactory to know that the men of the expedition are under the direction of an officer who will keep them well in hand, and has already made himself extremely popular among all classes and creeds. It is not often that the English War Office stumbles into the accident of putting the right man into the right place."

The newspaper, therefore, having taken out the article

so apparently obnoxious to Riel, appeared the next day without it.

On the 24th August the troops arrived at Fort Garry, and in our next chapter we will give a short description of their entrance into the Settlement.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ARRIVAL OF THE TROOPS AT FORT GARRY—HASTY DEPARTURE OF RIEL, O'DONOGHUE AND LEPINE—CONDUCT OF THE 60TH ROYAL RIFLES—GOVERNOR ARCHIBALD COMMENCES HIS ADMINISTRATION —RETROSPECT—THE MANITOBA BILL.

THE 23rd of August was a wet and miserable day. The rain poured down, and the roads became almost impassable. Indefinite rumors were afloat that the troops were close at hand, until at last it became known for a fact that they were within a short distance of the town. Then succeeded all sorts of expressions of opinion regarding the truth of the statement. Many doubted; many believed—and both doubts and beliefs ended in stimulants, possibly to clear up the former, and make the latter stronger,—the end of this being that many drunken individuals could have been seen wandering about; and it is quite certain that the stimulants had an opposite effect from the one expected; and, the consequence was, that the doubtful ones resolved upon seeing for themselves, that they might believe; and the believing ones determined to follow their example, that they might not doubt. Accordingly, a number of persons went to meet the troops, and, coming across the advanced guard of the 60th Rifles, were detained as prisoners until the next morning—Col. Wolseley's orders being that any one coming within the lines should not be

allowed to go beyond them, until a move was made on Fort Garry.

On the morning of the 24th, the inhabitants of Winnipeg were anxiously looking out for the appearance of the troops; and the first sight they had of them was when they suddenly broke into view, as if they had started from the ground in the outskirts of the town. A halt was then made, and the whole of the 60th marched round the town, instead of going through it. Several of the officers, however, rode through the principal streets, accompanied by several civilians on horseback.

Col. Wolseley rode at the head of his men, and in this way advanced upon the Fort.

In the meantime, word had reached the ears of Riel, O'Donoghue and Lepine, who were in the Fort, that the troops were at hand. No amnesty had been proclaimed, and, doubtless, fearing the result of being captured by the military authorities, they hastily mounted their horses and rode off. Opposite Fort Garry, on the Assinniboine, there was a ferry, which crossed the river by means of a hawser. This Riel, or one of his party, cut, and thus prevented any immediate pursuit. The three leaders then crossed over the Red River, and stood on the banks of St. Boniface, watching the 60th, as they marched into Fort Garry. They then rode away in the direction of Pembina, which place they reached the next day. There Riel and O'Donoghue, it is said, had some disagreement, which resulted in the former going to St. Jo, while the latter remained for some time in Pembina.

Thus ended the insurrection. By one act the leaders

were forced to become exiles from the country; and any good they had wrought for it was denied them. Had they kept their hands free from blood, they might have remained to see the fruits of their labors. But, having allowed passion to overrule their judgment, they suffered the consequences, and had to seek safety in flight.

The men of the 60th, in the meantime, thinking that everything inside the Fort came under the head of spoils of war, began a regular pillage on the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company; and it was only when they learned that they were attacking private property that they desisted.

Too much praise cannot be accorded to the 60th, for their honorable and just behaviour on their arrival at Fort Garry. Their conduct at that time is a page in the history of their regiment, which they may be proud of; and the people of Red River will never forget their short stay amongst them. No one was insulted; no one was interfered with; no one harmed; everything went on pleasantly. Coming off a trip such as the men had gone through, it is not to be wondered at if they indulged rather freely in liquor,—what body of men would not do so. There were several fights in consequence; but, invariably, it was a fair and square stand-up battle,—and in every case, between two men belonging to the same regiment. No citizen was molested at any time. The officers enjoyed themselves as well as they could, under the circumstances, during the few days which they spent at Fort Garry. Some went out shooting; some did this —some did that; but the greater portion of their time

was occupied in providing whatever luxuries they could obtain in the Settlement for their return trip to Canada.

The settlers generally were sorry when it became known that the 60th were ordered to return immediately; although the men themselves seemed perfectly indifferent, whether they remained, or went back the way they came. Their chief complaint was, that no shot had been fired; and that, therefore, there appeared to be little, if any, honor in the trip. When the troops entered Fort Garry, they found everything in confusion, and evident signs of a hasty departure on the part of Riel. Only one or two men were inside the walls, besides the Company's officers, and a couple of French settlers who were arrested, but almost immediately afterwards released.

Despatches were sent off atonce by Col. Wolseley, announcing the safe arrival of the troops; and then preparations were made for the reception of the volunteers, who had not yet arrived; and also for the return trip of the 60th Rifles.

On the 27th, the Ontario Battalion began to arrive, and came in small detachments. No. 7 Company, having been left behind on the route, to guard stores, did not make their appearance till some time after the 60th Rifles left.

The Ontarios, on their arrival, like the 60th, behaved themselves as true soldiers. Dr. Schultz came into the Settlement shortly afterwards; and from that time there cemmenced a series of excitements, which, at one time, looked very much as if they would result in serious trouble.

The volunteers were blamed for many acts which they did not commit, until, finally the good sense of the public mind overruled this passionate outburst; and the instigators of it found out that they had satisfied their revengeful feelings, at a loss of their self-respect; and became aware that, instead of raising themselves in the opinion of the public, they had made another false step, and lost accordingly.

On Governor Archibald's arrival, he found great difficulty in organizing matters, on account of the rampant party who seemed utterly careless about order being established; who had only one thought—revenge. At last however, by pursuing a moderate but firm course, the Red River Settlement began to rise from its state of gloom, into one of brightness. People began to look forward to better days; to the enjoyments of self-government, and to the pride of being a people whose destiny rested in their own hands for better or worse. It is to be hoped for the former. A child of Confederation had been born—a small, but promising province, had been created; the result of the troubles had been attained; the people of the Settlement found that they held a rank amongst the other Provinces of Canada, and felt a just pride accordingly. May that pride grow apace with the prosperity which appears to be in store for them; and may Manitoba become one of the brightest gems in the Dominion.

We need hardly recapitulate this, history tells its own tale. The Red River people were happy and contented, in the days of the Hudson's Bay Company Government. The influx of strangers brought with it a desire for

change, more especially as the acts of new-comers, made it apparent that the Government was too weak to rule properly. Petitions were signed; meetings were held, principally at the instigation of strangers, in which, however, the settlers, to a certain extent, took part. Still on the whole, it was not a matter of vital importance to the Red River people. They were content so long as order and quietness reigned. Canada then took hold of the question; the result was distasteful to the people, generally. It seemed like jumping from the frying pan into the fire. Yet nothing was done. Riel, at this time, laid hold of the peculiar characteristics of his own countrymen. He knew them to be naturally quick and excitable, and succeeded in persuading them to resist what was obnoxious to them.

The English, in the meantime, although not satisfied with the policy proposed by Canada for the country, yet did not feel called upon to take the same course as the French had done. Riel, however, wanted a thorough union of French and English to enable him the better to gain his ends. Comparative strangers in the country, avowed supporters of Mr. McDougall, the Governor elect, stepped in, and sought to interfere between the people of the country and what they considered their rights. Illegal authority was made use of, thus giving Riel power which he otherwise would not have obtained. The acts of those strangers brought in counter acts on the part of the French, the result being a complete breach between the two sides of the Settlement. Things were then done, and words spoken, which widened this split between the

French and English settlers; and it was only when certain destruction threatened the Settlement that a union was effected—a union, however, which was never sincere ; and, in fact, it will take years to heal the breach made between French and English in Red River.

Canada, in the meantime, determined upon following a fair and upright course towards all classes, and went nobly to work in the good cause. She repudiated the illegal acts committed by men who had usurped her authority, and in spite of the opposition of those who persisted in misunderstanding the state of affairs, she offered terms to the settlers of Red River that they could not but accept, and which placed them at once on a proper footing in the circle of Confederation—a footing which they have every reason to be proud of, and which, no doubt, they will show themselves deserving of.

There are black pages in this history—there were mistakes made on all sides—evil influences were at work; and, in some instances, they overruled the good. Were the same things to be gone over again, they would, doubtless, be done in a different manner; but a man cannot recall the wrong done during a lifetime, neither can the acts of the Red River insurrection be wiped from the pages of history. But, while we deplore the evil, let us bear in mind the good, and hope that the future of Manitoba will be such as to efface, as far as possible, the "Troubles" which resulted in its formation. We will now place the following as a record on the pages of history, the creation of the small, but promising, Province of MANITOBA:—

ANNO TRICESIMO-TERTIO.—VICTORIÆ REGINA.

An Act to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba.

Whereas it is probable that Her Majesty the Queen may, pursuant to the British North America Act, 1867, be pleased to admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, before the next Session of the Parliament of Canada:

And whereas it is expedient to prepare for the transfer of the said Territories to the Government of Canada, at the time appointed by the Queen for such admission:

And whereas it is expedient also to provide for the organization of part of the said Territory as a Province, and for the establishment of a Government therefor, and to make provision for the Civil Government of the remaining part of the said Territories, not included within the limits of the Province:

Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

I. On, from and after the day upon which the Queen, by and with the advice and consent of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, under the authority of the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867, shall, by Order in Council in that behalf, admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, there shall be formed out of the same, a Province, which shall be one of the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, and which shall be

called the Province of Manitoba, and be bounded as follows, that is to say:—commencing at the point where the meridian of ninety-six degrees of west longitude from Greenwich intersects the parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude; thence due west along the said parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude (which forms a portion of the boundary line between the United States of America and the said North-Western Territory) to the meridian of ninety-nine degrees of west longitude; then due north along the said meridian of ninety-nine degrees west longitude to the intersection of the same with the parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude; thence due east along the said parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude to its intersection with the before mentioned meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude; thence due south along the said meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude to the place of beginning.

II. On, from and after the said day on which the Order of the Queen in Council shall take effect as aforesaid, the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, shall, except those parts thereof which are in terms made, or, by reasonable intendment, may be held to be specially applicable to, or only to affect one or more, but not the whole, of the Provinces now composing the Dominion, and except so far as the same may be varied by this Act, be applicable to the Province of Manitoba, in the same way, and to the like extent as they apply to the several Provinces of Canada, and as if the Province of

Manitoba had been one of the Provinces originally united by the said Act.

III. The said Province shall be represented in the Senate of Canada by two members, until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of fifty thousand souls; and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by three members until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of seventy-five thousand souls; and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by four members.

IV. The said Province shall be represented in the first instance, in the House of Commons, by four members; and for that purpose shall be divided, by proclamation of the Governor-General, into four Electoral Districts, each of which shall be represented by one member: Provided that, on the completion of the census in the year 1881, and of each decennial census afterwards, the representation of the said Province shall be re-adjusted according to the provisions of the fifty-first section of the British North America Act, 1867.

V. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, the qualification of voters at elections of members of the House of Commons shall be the same as for the Legislative Assembly, hereinafter mentioned; and no person shall be qualified to be elected, or to sit and vote, as a member for any Electoral District, unless he is a duly qualified voter within the said Province.

VI. For the said Province there shall be an officer styled the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General in Council, by instrument under the Great Seal of Canada.

VII. The Executive Council of the Province shall be composed of such persons, and under such designations, as the Lieutenant-Governor shall, from time to time, think fit, and, in the first instance, of not more than five persons.

VIII. Unless and until the Executive Government of the Province otherwise directs, the seat of Government of the same shall be at Fort Garry, or within one mile thereof.

IX. There shall be a Legislature for the Province, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor, and of two Houses, styled respectively, the Legislative Council of Manitoba, and the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.

X. The Legislative Council shall, in the first instance, be composed of seven members ; and, after the expiration of four years from the time of the first appointment of such seven members, may be increased to not more than twelve members. Every member of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, in the Queen's name, by instrument under the Great Seal of Manitoba, and shall hold office for the term of his life, unless and until the Legislature of Manitoba otherwise provides, under the British North America Act, 1867.

XI. The Lieutenant-Governor may, from time to time, by instrument under the Great Seal, appoint a member of the Legislative Council to be Speaker thereof, and may remove him and appoint another in his stead.

XII. Until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the presence of a majority of the whole number of the Legislative Council, including the Speaker, shall be

necessary to constitute a meeting for the exercise of its powers.

XIII. Questions arising in the Legislative Council shall be decided by a majority of voices, and the Speaker shall, in all cases, have a vote; and, when the voices are equal, the decision shall be deemed to be in the negative.

XIV. The Legislative Assembly shall be composed of twenty-four members, to be elected to represent the electoral divisions into which the said Province may be divided by the Lieutenant-Governor, as hereinafter mentioned.

XV. The presence of a majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the House for the exercise of its powers—and for that purpose the Speaker shall be reckoned as a member.

XVI. The Lieutenant-Governor shall (within six months of the date of the Order of Her Majesty in Council, admitting Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory into the Union), by Proclamation under the Great Seal, divide the said Province into twenty-four electoral divisions, due regard being had to existing local divisions and population.

XVII. Every male person shall be entitled to vote for a member to serve in the Legislative Assembly for any electoral division, who is qualified as follows: that is to say, if he is—

1. Of the full age of twenty-one years, and not subject to any legal incapacity:

2. A subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization:

3. And a *bona fide* householder within the electoral division, at the date of the writ of election for the same, and has been a *bona fide* householder for one year next before the said date; or,

4. If, being at the full age of twenty-one years, and not subject to any legal incapacity, and a subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization, he was, at any time, within twelve months prior to the passing of this Act, and (though in the interim temporarily absent) is, at the time of such election, a *bona fide* householder, and was resident within the electoral division at the date of the writ of election for the same:

But this fourth sub-section shall apply only to the first election to be held under this Act, for members to serve in the Legislative Assembly aforesaid.

XVIII. For the first election of members to serve in the Legislative Assembly, and until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the Lieutenant-Governor shall cause writs to be issued by such person, in such form, and addressed to such returning officer as he thinks fit; and for such first election, and until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the Lieutenant-Governor shall, by proclamation, prescribe and declare the oaths to be taken by voters, the powers and duties of returning and deputy-returning officers, the proceedings to be observed at such election, and the period during which such election may be continued, and such other provisions in respect to such first election as he may think fit.

XIX. Every Legislative Assembly shall continue for four years from the date of the return of the writs for returning the same (subject, nevertheless, to being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor) and no longer; and the first session thereof shall be called at such time as the Lieutenant-Governor shall appoint.

XX. There shall be a session of the Legislature once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Legislature in one session, and its first sitting in the next session.

XXI. The following provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, respecting the House of Commons of Canada, shall extend and apply to the Legislative Assembly, that is to say:—provisions relating to the election of a Speaker, originally, and on vacancies; the duties of the Speaker, the absence of the Speaker, and the mode of voting, as if those provisions were here re-enacted, and made applicable in terms to the Legislative Assembly.

XXII. In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:—

1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools, which any class of persons have, by law or practice, in the Province at the Union:

2. An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council, from any act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or of any Provincial authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

3. In case any such Provincial Law, as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section, is not made; or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council, on any appeal under this section, is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this Section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this Section.

XXIII. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Legislature, and both those languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses, and either of those languages may be used by any person, or in any Pleading or Process, or in issuing from any Court of Canada established under the British North America Act, 1867, or in or from all or any of the Courts of the Province. The Acts of the Legislature shall be printed and published in both those languages.

XXIV. Inasmuch as the Province is not in debt, the said Province shall be entitled to be paid, and to receive from the Government of Canada, by half-yearly payments in advance, interest at the rate of five per centum per annum on the sum of four hundred and seventy-two thousand and ninety dollars.

XXV. The sum of thirty thousand dollars shall be paid yearly by Canada to the Province, for the support of its Government and Legislature, and an annual grant, in aid

of the said Province, shall be made equal to eighty cents per head of the population, estimated at seventeen thousand souls; and such grant of eighty cents per head shall be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, as may be shown by the census that shall be taken thereof, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, and by each subsequent decennial census, until its population amounts to four hundred thousand souls, at which amount such grant shall remain thereafter, and such sum shall be in full settlement of all future demands on Canada, and shall be paid half-yearly, in advance, to the said Province.

XXVI. Canada will assume and defray the charge for the following services:—

1. Salary of the Lieutenant-Governor.
2. Salaries and allowances of the Judges of the Superior and District or County Courts.
3. Charges in respect of the Department of the Customs.
4. Postal Department.
5. Protection of Fisheries.
6. Militia.
7. Geological Survey.
8. The Penitentiary.
9. And such further charges as may be incident to, and connected with the services which by the British North American Act, 1867, appertain to the General Government, and as are, or may be, allowed to other Provinces.

XXVII. The Customs' duties now by law chargeable in Rupert's Land, shall be continued without increase for

the period of three years from and after the passing of this Act, and the proceeds of such duties shall form part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

XXVIII. Such provisions of the Customs' Laws of Canada (other than such as prescribe the rate of duties payable), as may be from time to time declared, by the Governor-General in Council, to apply to the Province of Manitoba, shall be applicable thereto, and in force therein accordingly.

XXIX. Such provisions of the Laws of Canada, respecting the Inland Revenue, including those fixing the amount of duties, as may be from time to time declared, by the Governor General in Council, applicable to the said Province, shall apply thereto, and be in force therein accordingly.

XXX. All ungranted or waste lands in the Province shall be, from and after the date of the said transfer, vested in the Crown, and administered by the Government of Canada for the purpose of the Dominion, subject to, and except and so far as the same may be affected by, the conditions and stipulations contained in the agreement for the surrender of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company to Her Majesty.

XXXI. And whereas it is expedient, towards the extinguishment of the Indian Title to the lands in the Province, to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands to the extent of one million four hundred thousand acres thereof, for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents, it is hereby enacted that under regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor-General in

Council, the Lieutenant-Governor shall select such lots or tracts in such parts of the Province as he may deem expedient, to the extent aforesaid, and divide the same among the children of the half-breed heads of families, residing in the Province at the time of the said transfer to Canada, and the same shall be granted to the said children respectively, in such mode and on such conditions as to settlement and otherwise, as the Governor-General in Council may from time to time determine.

XXXII. For the quieting of titles, and assuring to the settlers in the Province the peaceable possession of the lands now held by them, it is enacted as follows :—

1. All grants of land in freehold made by the Hudson's Bay Company up to the eighth day of March, in the year 1869, shall, if required by the owner, be confirmed by grant from the Crown.

2. All grants of estates less than freehold in land made by the Hudson's Bay Company, up to the eighth day of March aforesaid, shall, if required by the owner, be converted into an estate in freehold, by grant from the Crown.

3. All titles by occupancy, with the sanction and under the license and authority of the Hudson Bay Company up to the eighth day of March aforesaid, of land in that part of the Province in which the Indian title has been extinguished, shall, if required by the owner, be converted into an estate in freehold, by grant from the Crown.

4. All persons in peaceable possession of tracts of land at the time of the said transfer to Canada, in those parts

of the Province in which Indian title has not been extinguished, shall have the right of pre-emption of the same on such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Governor in Council.

5. The Lieutenant-Governor is hereby authorized, under regulations to be made from time to time by the Governor-General in Council, to make all such provisions for ascertaining and adjusting, on fair and equitable terms, the rights of Common, and rights of cutting hay held and enjoyed by the settlers in the Province, and for the commutation of the same, by grants of land from the Crown.

XXXIII. The Governor-General in Council shall, from time to time, settle and appoint the mode and form of grants of land from the Crown, and any Order in Council for that purpose, when published in the "Canada Gazette," shall have the same force and effect as if it were a portion of this Act.

XXXIV. Nothing in this Act shall in any way prejudice or affect the rights or properties of the Hudson's Bay Company, as contained in the conditions under which that Company surrendered Rupert's Land to Her Majesty.

XXXV. And with respect to such portion of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory as is not included in the Province of Manitoba, it is hereby enacted that the Lieutenant-Governor of the said Province shall be appointed by Commission under the Great Seal of Canada, to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the same under the name of the North-West Territories, and subject to the provisions of the Act in the next section mentioned.

XXXVI. Except as hereinbefore is enacted and pro-

vided, the Act of the Parliament of Canada, passed in the now last session thereof, intituled, "An Act for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and North-Western Territory, when united with Canada," is hereby re-enacted, extended and continued in force until the 1st day of January, 1871, and until the end of the session of Parliament then next succeeding.

THE END.

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